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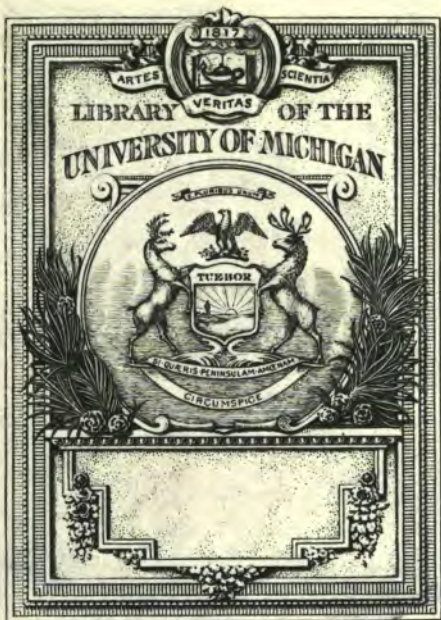
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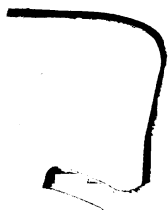
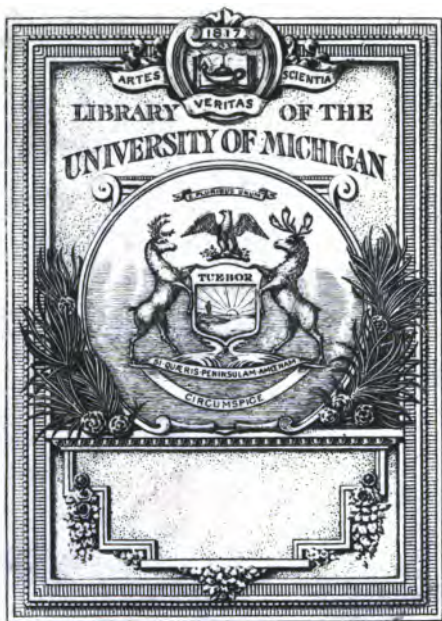
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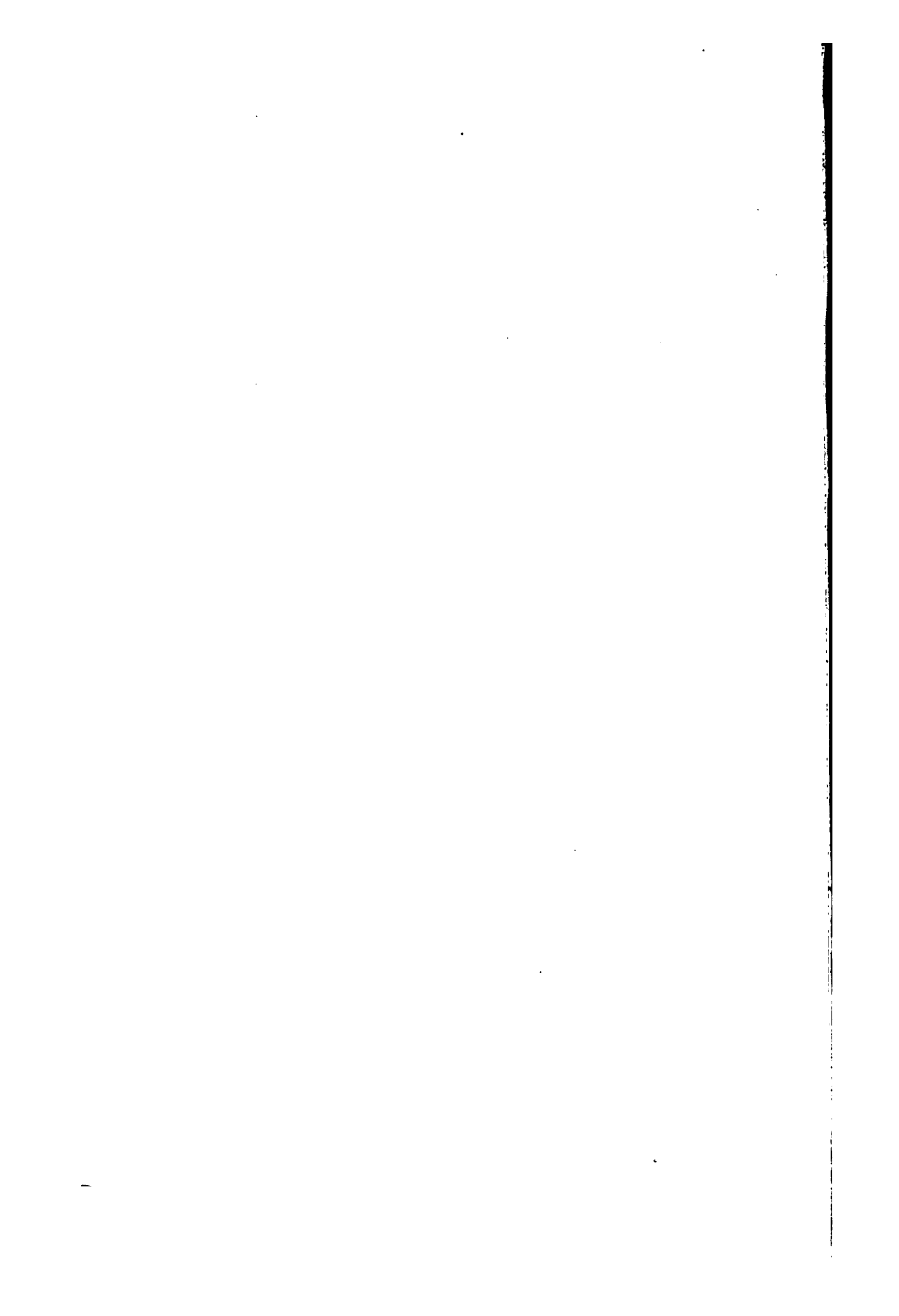
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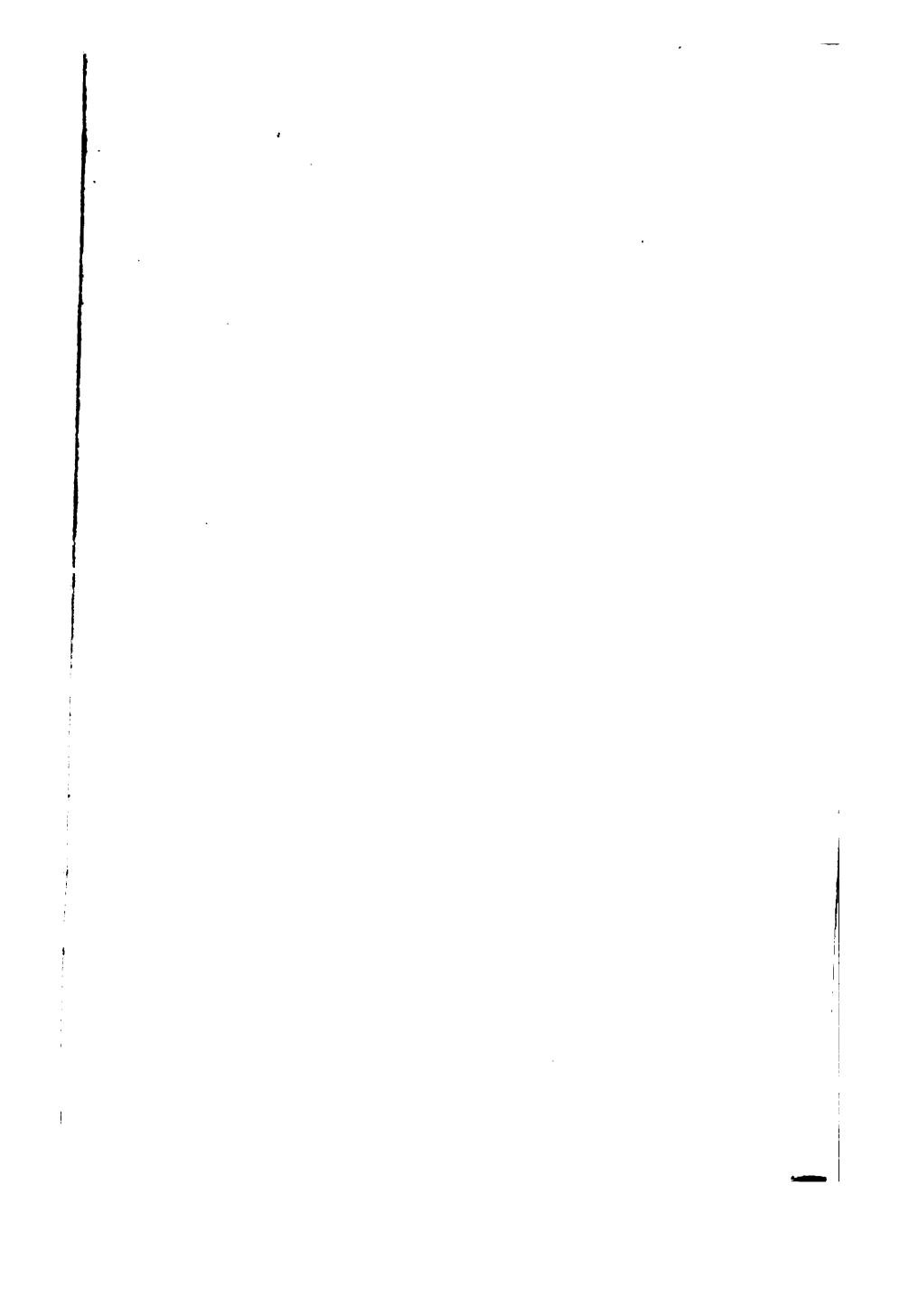


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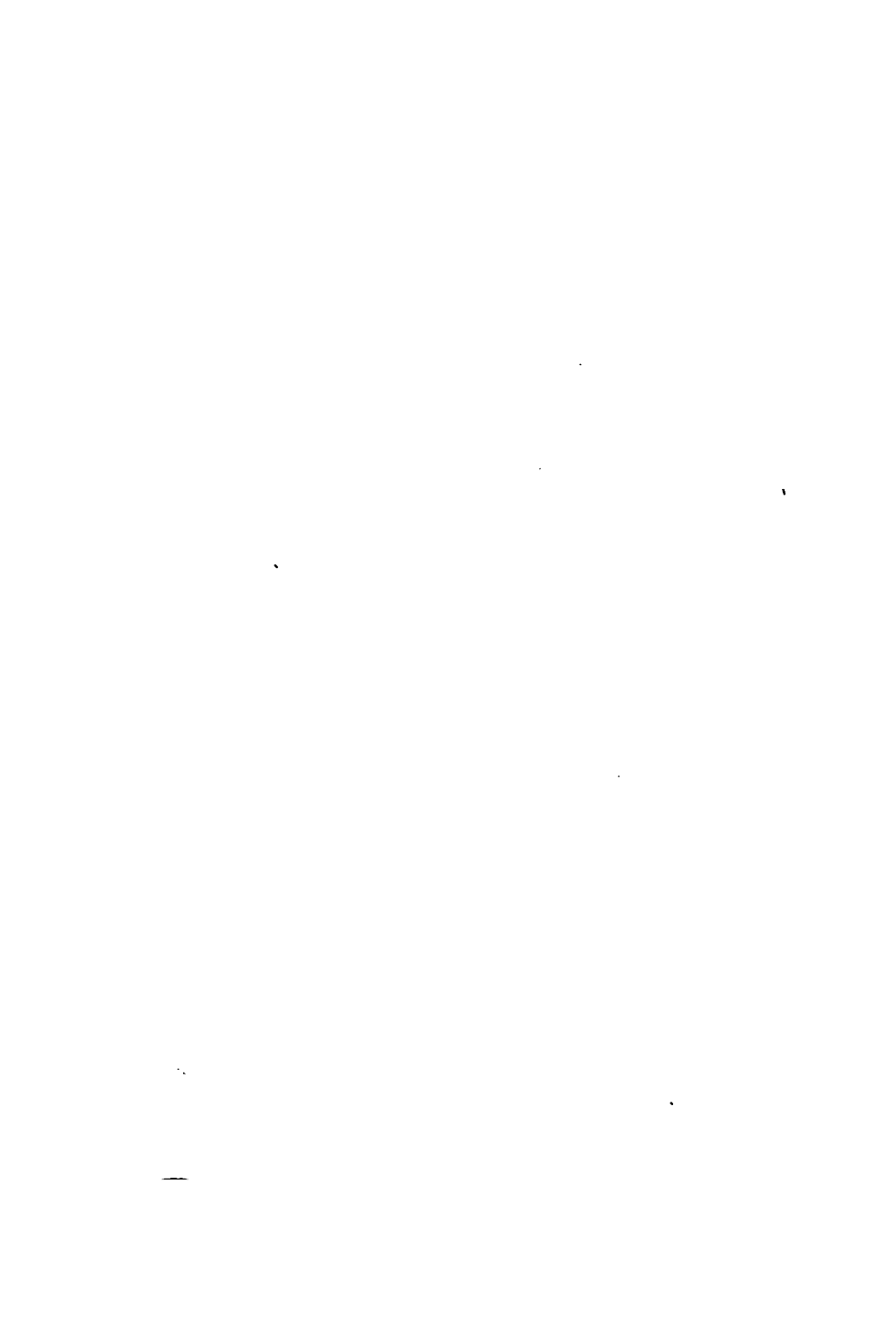


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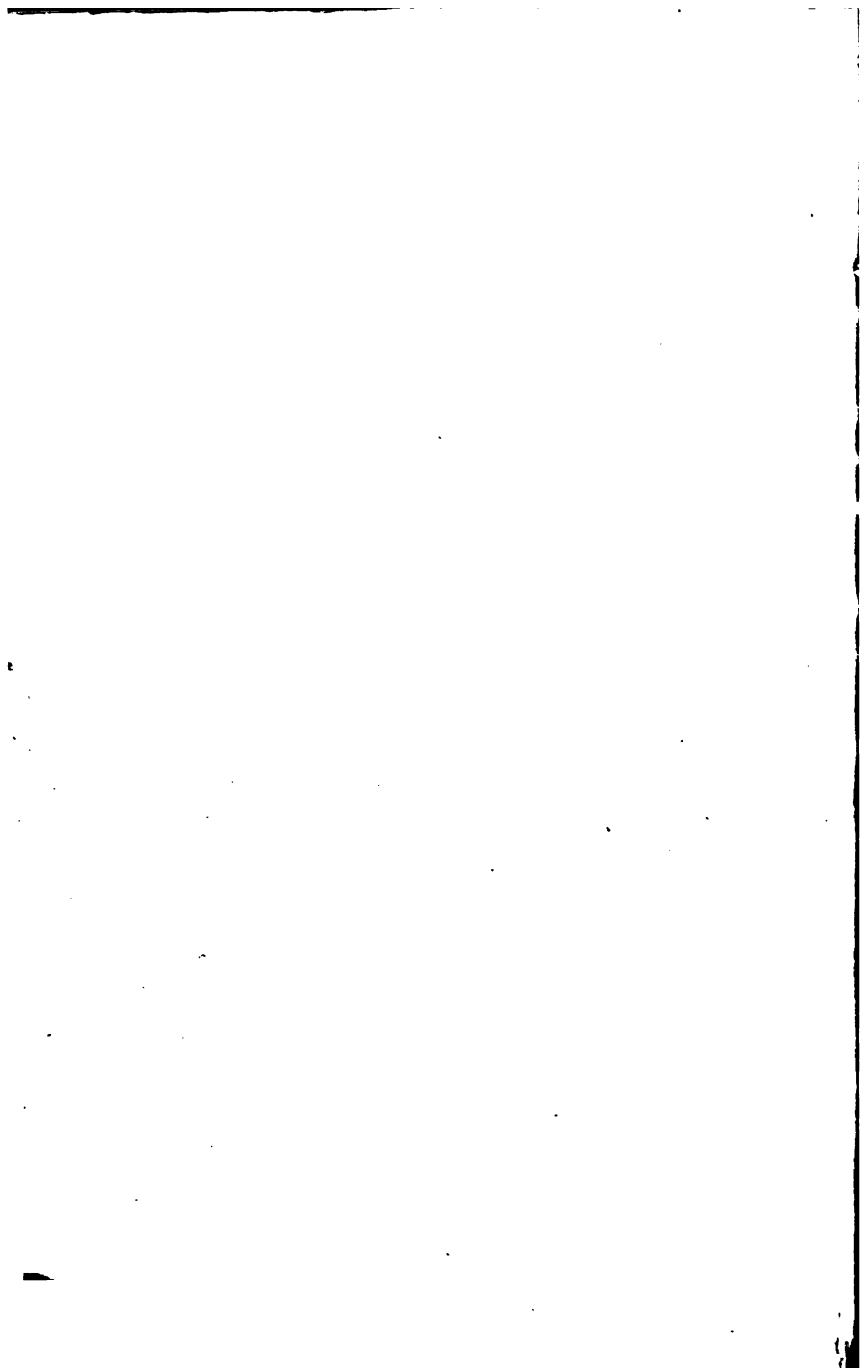
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proved by the witness of religious experience. This kind of statement seems to be partly true and partly false. It is true that for spiritual facts only spiritual evidence is ultimately decisive; and any inquiry into them must be based on the recognition of this truth. For such an inquiry the best starting-point is the consciousness of the individual. It is the claim of Christianity that as a religion it helps men to become conscious of direct communion with a higher spiritual power and to recognise that human life is eternal as well as temporal, while the Christian community consists of men who enjoy this consciousness and have made this recognition. It is clear that in a certain sense this covers the doctrine which the Resurrection implies—the existence of an eternal life (in the case as well of Christians as of Christ) which cannot be conquered by death, because it is exalted above both space and time. The main outlines of this position have been very beautifully expressed by Professor Inge in his Bampton Lectures (pp. 325 f.) on Christian Mysticism, in which he says:—

“The men to whom we naturally turn as our best authorities in spiritual matters are those who seem to have been endowed with an *anima naturaliter Christiana*, and who have devoted their whole lives to the service of God and the imitation of Christ.

“Now it will be found that these men of acknowledged and pre-eminent saintliness agree very closely in what they tell us about God. They tell us that they have arrived gradually at an unshakable conviction, not based on inference but on immediate experience, that God is a spirit with whom the human spirit can hold intercourse; that in him meet all that they can imagine of goodness, truth, and beauty; that they can see his footprints everywhere in nature, and feel his presence within them as the very life of their life; so that in proportion as they come to themselves they come to him. They tell us that what separates us from him and from happiness is, first, self-seeking in all its forms; and, secondly, sensuality in all its forms; that these are the ways of darkness and death, which hide from us the face of God; while the path of the just is like a shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. As they have toiled up the narrow way, the Spirit has spoken to them of Christ, and has enlightened the eyes of their understandings, till they have at least begun to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, and to be filled with all the fulness of God.”

Few would deny the real value of this line of argument, or that it represents the driving power which makes religion a living force, and distinguishes

it from theology,—the attempt to translate into the language of time, and to give intellectual expression to the things of eternity which are perceived by the spirit.

On the other hand, such a method has its limitations; and there is a tendency in some schools of thought to pass beyond their boundaries. It is, for instance, a confusion of thought when men say that spiritual experience can guarantee the historical fact of the Resurrection of the Lord. From the nature of the case it cannot possibly prove anything about the events of the history of Jesus. It can, and does, throw light on the meaning of events which are historically vouched for by other means; but it cannot take the place of these means. Spiritual experience, which is the basis of religion, is the revelation of God and of the Spirit; but it would tell no one anything about the historic Christ, if he knew nothing from other sources.

Historically, however, Christians are men who, having the witness of the Spirit in themselves, believe either that it is identical with the risen Christ himself—that, as St Paul said, the Lord is the Spirit—or that the Spirit which inspires their lives is identical with the Spirit which inspired his. Thus for Christians it is true that this argument, in connection with the knowledge of history, leads to the assurance that Christ is

eternally alive. But, apart from that knowledge of history, it can never tell even Christians anything about the story of his Death and Resurrection. As Dr Inge says, in the continuation of the passage just quoted: "The inner light can only testify to spiritual truths.

→ It always speaks in the present tense; it cannot guarantee any historical event, past or future. It cannot guarantee either the gospel history or a future judgment. It can tell us that Christ is risen, and that he is alive for evermore, but not that he rose again the third day." Indeed, one might even say with truth that this argument is so far independent of historical facts that those who are impressed by it—who, in the mystic phrase, "know that they have passed from death unto life"—would hold their faith as to the eternal life, both of themselves and of their Master, quite unshaken, even if there were no proof of any appearance after death; for assuredly the proof of eternal life does not consist of reappearances in time and space, when the life has once been released from those limitations.

If, therefore, we wish to investigate the facts, in order to establish our knowledge of history, we must adopt the method of historical research. This is an entirely different method. It has nothing to do with religious consciousness, except when this is regarded as a fact of

history, the development of which may be traced just as the development of any other historical phenomenon.

The method of historical research, though complicated in practice, is simple in theory, and much unnecessary controversy would be avoided if the theory, and the possibilities which it offers and does not offer, were more consistently recognised and remembered.

The first task of the historical inquirer is to collect the pieces of evidence; the second is to discuss the trustworthiness and meaning of each separate piece; and the third is to reconstruct the events to which the evidence relates. If one may adopt a metaphor from the law courts, he has to play in turn the parts of solicitor, barrister, and judge, for he has to draw up the case, to argue its meaning, and to decide on its merits. Such an inquirer is necessarily bound by the limitations of evidence. The evidence of even the best witnesses can in the end represent nothing more than their belief; and if the witnesses differ, either the point at issue must be left open, or an explanation must be given of their difference. It is, of course, impossible to apply the laws of evidence to historical problems with the same rigour as obtains in a law court, but in principle the judge and the historian are both guided by them, and the qualities which are demanded for the one are equally necessary in the other. The only difference

is that the historian, unlike the judge (at least in England), is allowed to give an open verdict.

This method will be followed in the present essay. It is, as its title shows, an investigation into history, and is concerned primarily not with the spiritual evidence of religious experience, but with the testimony of early Christian literature.

The origin of the early Christian literature, which supplies the evidence for any inquiry into the fact either of the life of Jesus or of the development of the early Church, is, it need hardly be said, far too elaborate and difficult a problem to be discussed in the present place. But anyone who writes on topics connected with it owes it as well to himself as to his readers to give some sort of statement of his views as to the growth of this literature, and the way in which it ought to be treated, even though it be impossible in so short a space to give the proofs.

For the first generation of Christians the sources of authority were the Old Testament and the Teaching of the Lord. The former was written and the latter was oral, but as time went on Christians began to ask for written statements bearing on the life and teaching of Christ. Probably these statements took three forms—a collection of passages bearing on the fulfilment of

prophecy by Christ ; a collection of his sayings ; and a description of his life. Of the two first kinds no unmixed examples are extant, but the third is represented by the gospel of Mark. A little later there came the inevitable attempt to facilitate instruction by combining these three types of documents into one. Of these attempts we have in the canonical New Testament two examples.

Matthew represents a combination of Mark with at least one document which gave the sayings of the Lord, probably also with one which gave prophecies and their fulfilment, and with fresh material of various kinds drawn by the compiler from other sources. In the same way St Luke compiled his gospel from Mark, at least one document containing sayings which was also used in Matthew, and from special sources of his own. As the preface to Luke shows, this gospel was, unlike Matthew, a definite attempt to reconstruct the course of events by the help of evidence of all kinds, and the manner in which Mark is edited shows that St Luke had not, especially towards the close, a very high opinion either of the style in which Mark was written, or of its version of events. Thus there is a close connexion between the first three gospels (generally called the Synoptic Gospels), owing to their being so largely based on the same sources.

A somewhat different tendency is represented by the

Fourth Gospel, which seems rather to have been an attempt to give an explanation of the place of the Lord in the scheme of the universe. The form in which the narrative is given is historical, but the interest of the writer is theological and philosophical. Possibly he was acquainted with the Synoptic Gospels or with their sources, but, except in one or two cases, made no direct use of them.

Going on a little further, one finds still at work the same tendency to build up new documents out of old ones. Just as one generation compiled the Synoptic Gospels, at least partly, out of previously existing documents, the next made new gospels out of them, with the help of other traditions. Of this process we have an early and important example in the Gospel of Peter, and a later one in the Acts of Pilate, sometimes called the Gospel of Nicodemus, though there is room for doubt whether the latter was not intended to be regarded more as a religious romance. There are also extant various other fragments which belong to the same type, the characteristic of which is a free paraphrastic combination of the gospel narratives and their embellishment with legendary additions. Probably the famous fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews belong to this class.

Still a little later, before the period which produced

the last class of document was finished, the feeling arose which ascribed a special sanctity to the four gospels, which thus became "canonical." But this did not prevent the continuance of the natural desire to reduce the four to one document. The result was the growth of harmonies which combined the Canonical Gospels into one long continuous account. In the end none of these attempts won popularity permanently, but they exercised much influence on the text, and on the interpretation of the gospels. The most important was the Diatessaron of Tatian, which is still extant, though in a corrupt text. The rest have perished.

Returning to the earliest period, quite a different type of literature is represented by the epistles of St Paul. Here we have, in the opinion of all but a very few critics, in the main genuine letters of the apostle. Some of them may possibly be false, some may represent combinations of fragments of letters (2 Corinthians probably does this), and the text of all of them may be corrupt in places; but the one which is important for the present purpose, 1 Corinthians, is probably the most certainly genuine of the whole collection.

How can this mass of material best be used? So far as the epistles are concerned there is not so much difficulty. They are the letters of an almost contemporary writer; but of course their evidence, as the evidence of

letters always is, is frequently allusive rather than direct, and it is not always easy to be certain to what the allusions refer. The evidence of the other documents is a much more difficult and complex problem. It is no longer possible, in the light of the results of research, to say that we must build our arguments on the gospels. That is insufficient: we must build on the sources of the gospels, and the sources are not all or always of equal value. Where, as is more or less the case with Mark, we have an early source which has been used by the other gospels, the matter is simpler, but it is extremely difficult when the source is no longer extant. In that case we are obliged to try to reconstruct it. To do this is usually impossible, if a verbal reconstruction be required; but if the attempt be confined to the general outlines of the tradition represented, good results are often possible from the comparison of allied though independent narratives, and by attention to the general influences which were likely to modify its representation. When in this way the sources or traditions underlying the gospels and kindred documents have been reconstructed, and the material has thus been simplified, it is necessary to compare the results, and attempt by this comparison to reconstruct first the earliest tradition, and then the actual events which gave rise to it. It is hardly necessary to say that this is by no means an easy thing

to do, and it is needful constantly to remember that the first rule for all such work is that it is not sufficient to make a choice between two conflicting traditions, but that the rejected traditions have also to be explained. It is not enough to say that an event probably happened in one particular way; it is also necessary to show why people ever thought that it happened in any other.

In the following chapters an effort will be made to follow out this method. The existing narratives will first be given, and so far as seems necessary commented on, showing when possible their relations to one another or to their sources, and the traditions which lie behind the narratives. Next these traditions will be compared, and an attempt will be made to explain the existence of those which are rejected. Finally there will be considered the bearing of the results thus reached on the question of the nature of the facts which gave rise to the tradition. It must also be mentioned that in the quotations from the New Testament the translations of the English versions will be used as a basis, but will not always be followed exactly if there seem to be reason for adopting another rendering.

CHAPTER I

THE ACCOUNT OF THE RESURRECTION¹ OF THE LORD GIVEN BY ST PAUL

THE main source of our knowledge of St Paul's teaching on the fact of the Resurrection of Christ, as distinct from its theological importance for Christians, is 1 Cor. xv., and any investigation of his evidence must necessarily deal with this passage.

It is of course well known that the purpose of 1 Cor. was to provide answers to certain definite difficulties which had arisen in the church at Corinth. Among these difficulties one of the chief was connected with the hope of a resurrection of the departed faithful. It is probable, though for the present purpose immaterial, that St Paul had learnt (either from the epistle sent to him by the church at Corinth, or

¹ Using the word in the general, somewhat loose sense. Of course, in the strict sense of the word, there is no account of the Resurrection—the actual moment of resuscitation—in any canonical book.

from the verbal information of Stephanus, Fortunatus and Achaicus) that there was a party among his converts at Corinth which did not look for any life beyond the grave. The fact that they had no further hope is rendered certain by 1 Cor. xv. 12, "How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" but their reasons are not so plain. The most probable view, based upon 1 Cor. xv. 35 ("But some one will say, How are the dead raised, and with what body do they come?"), is that they found it impossible to conceive of life apart from the body, and were therefore persuaded that the obvious dissolution of the flesh at death must be the end of life. St Paul's answer to these doubters was that the general proposition that there is no resurrection of the dead is negated by the fact of the Resurrection of Christ. This point he explains in verses 1-20:—

But, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye are saved, if ye keep it fast, what argument I used in preaching unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas; then of the twelve; after that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto

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now, but some are fallen asleep; after that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles; and last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me did not prove in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me. Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.

Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then hath Christ not been raised: and if Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we testified of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead are not raised, then hath not Christ been raised: and if Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the first-fruits of them that slept.

In the following passage he explains the place of the Resurrection of Christ in the scheme of the universe in a manner which is very important for the understanding of Pauline doctrine in general, but throws no light on the problem under discussion. The same may be said of the next paragraph, in which he

emphasises the fact that the resurrection of the dead is implied by the custom of baptism for the dead—a custom which, whatever it may have been, was clearly in use among his readers—and by the constancy of Christians under persecution.

Having thus stated the positive grounds for belief in the resurrection, St Paul goes on to deal with the objection raised by the Corinthians that the body is dissolved by death, and cannot be raised. He argues that this is not a valid objection, but is surmounted by a consideration of the method of the resurrection, which will change the nature of the body, just as a seed is changed by the process of germination. He recognises an element of truth in the Corinthians' contention that a body of flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; this he says that he admits (*τοῦτο δέ φημι*), but he maintains that not all bodies are of the same kind, and that the resurrection body will not be of flesh and blood. He does not state the source of his views on this point; but it is fair to assume that, just as he established the future fact of the resurrection of Christians by his knowledge of the past fact of the Resurrection of Christ, so he bases his view of the nature of the resurrection body of Christians on his knowledge of the nature of the resurrection body of Christ.

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This argument he sets out in verses 35-58 :—

But some one will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind; but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to each seed its own body. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another flesh of birds, and another of fishes. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body; so, too, it is written, "The first man Adam became a living soul";—the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. But that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterwards that which is spiritual. The first man was of the earth, material: the second man was from heaven. As was the material, such are they also that are material: and as was the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the material, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

But I admit this, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I tell you a mystery: We

shall not all sleep,¹ but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" The sting of death is sin; and the power of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

For our present purpose a consideration of these extracts from St Paul's early teaching must begin with the connexion which exists in verse 3 between the three verbs *buried*, *raised*, and *appeared*. The meaning of the first cannot be doubted. It can only mean that the dead body of Jesus was laid in the grave; but the

¹ In these extracts from 1 Cor. xv. there are many points in which the text either is uncertain, or might justifiably have been differently translated. These have been passed over as immaterial to the questions under discussion. But at this point there is a curious variant in the text which deserves notice. Some authorities read, "We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed," and some, "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed." On the purely documentary evidence, it would be difficult to decide between these variants, but the text adopted is the only one which seems really consistent either with St Paul's argument here, or with his general teaching. That *all* would die before the Parousia is just what was not expected by the first generation. Cf. esp. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. p. 118.

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connexion of this with what follows is not so easily determined. Does St Paul mean that that which was buried was in every sense identical with that which was raised and seen? Does he mean that the appearance is the proof of the Resurrection, and that the first appearance took place on the third day, or is this reference a definition of the date of the Resurrection, regarded as a separate event from the first appearance of the risen Christ, of which no definite date is given?

These are problems which are far more easily stated than answered. It is possible that they defy any certain solution, owing to the fact that St Paul was writing a letter and not a theological treatise, and that he is giving a summary of his teaching to the Corinthians in order to remind them of what they had formerly heard, not to tell them something new. His account of the Resurrection is not controversial, but a statement of the common undisputed ground upon which he could base an argument for the purposes of what really was controversial. We have to endeavour to reconstruct the non-controversial basis of his arguments, which he only sketches, from the fuller details of the controversial section which follows, and it is not surprising that the task is difficult, and in some cases perhaps impossible.

The first question then is—Does St Paul mean that

that which was buried in the grave was in every sense identical with that which was raised and seen?

In the highest sense it is certain that St Paul did maintain this identity of that which was raised with that which had died and had been buried. At the same time, there is also a sense in which he did not believe in the resurrection of the *flesh*, and the difficulty is to discover exactly what this sense really is.

The proof of the former is to be found not in any direct statement, but by a reversal of St Paul's argument. In this chapter and elsewhere he is basing his teaching as to what will happen to Christians at their resurrection on what has already happened to Christ; it is therefore a perfectly sound method of argument to reverse this process and to reconstruct his views as to the Resurrection of Christ, to which he only alludes, from the full statement which he gives of his hopes for the resurrection of Christians. If this method be followed, there can clearly be no doubt that he believed in the complete personal-identity of that which rose with that which had died and been buried.

The proof that there is also a sense in which St Paul did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh is to be found especially in 1 Cor. xv. 50, "But this I admit, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the

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kingdom of God." In the simplest sense of the words it is thus clear that the resurrection of the flesh was rejected by St Paul; but it is a mistake to assume that this implies that St Paul thought that the flesh and blood either of Christ or of Christians remained or would remain in the grave, in the form, as we should say, of decaying matter, after the resurrection. The evidence points to his belief in a kind of transubstantiation of the body from flesh and blood into spirit, and in this sense he not merely held the doctrine of the resurrection of the *body*, as distinguished from the resurrection of the *flesh*, but in so far as the flesh was changed into spirit, he may even be said to have held the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, if "resurrection" be taken to include this process of change.

This evidence may be found in a consideration of verses 42-44, in which the point of the metaphor of the seed is that what is raised, though in one sense the same, in another sense is different from what was sown. Still more plainly is this shown in verses 51-52, "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed . . . and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we (*i.e.* the living) shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." The same thing may be seen outside this chapter in 2 Cor. v. 2, "For verily in this we groan,

longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven: if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life." Or still more simply in Phil. iii. 20-21, "For our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself."

These passages¹ make it abundantly plain that St Paul expected some change in the human body at its resurrection which can not unfairly be described as a transubstantiation, in the sense that he expected it to consist no longer of flesh and blood, but at the same time did not expect that this result would be obtained by the spirit taking to itself another body, and leaving behind the old material body. This seems the most probable statement of St Paul's position. It is perhaps true, that it is more certain that St Paul looked for a change in the attributes and properties of the body than that

¹ For a full treatment of these passages, and a discussion of the development of thought which can probably be traced in them, see R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, esp. pp. 379 ff.

he regarded this change as absorbing, if the phrase may be used, the whole of the mortal body without leaving any remains ; the former is far easier to prove than the latter, and it would be possible to argue that the language in 2 Corinthians looks forward to the casting off of the body of flesh and blood and the putting on of a new spiritual body, rather than to a transformation from carnal to spiritual ; but one ought probably to be led to reject this view by the later evidence of the epistle to the Philippians (as to the authenticity of which it is difficult to feel doubtful), which can scarcely be forced into harmony with such an interpretation.

The result, then, of an examination of the passages in which St Paul speaks of the nature of the resurrection body of Christians points to the fact that he believed that at the resurrection of Jesus his body was changed from one of flesh and blood to one which was spiritual, incorruptible, and immortal, in such a way that there was no trace left of the corruptible body of flesh and blood which had been laid in the grave.

The question now arises whether St Paul derived this view of the resurrection body entirely from what he had heard or seen of the risen Lord, or was partly influenced by contemporary Jewish ideas. If there was no trace of this doctrine of the transubstantiation of flesh and blood to spirit at the resurrection in contemporary

Jewish thought, the Pauline doctrine must be based on some special fact to which no definite allusion is made in the epistles. If, on the other hand, the doctrine is to be found in Jewish literature, it is possible that St Paul explains the resurrection body in the light of his inherited ideas on the subject, and in this case it becomes desirable to compare the Jewish and Pauline forms of the doctrine, as the points in which the latter differ from the former are likely to be those which the apostle derived from his knowledge of the Resurrection of Christ.

Now there can be little doubt that the Pauline doctrine of a transubstantiation of the body at the resurrection is one which was in the main familiar to the Jews. The evidence for this view has been collected, among others, by Mr H. St J. Thackeray in his work on *The Relation of St Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*. The most important passage is to be found in the Apocalypse of Baruch,¹ chapters xlix.—li. It is introduced by a question put to God:—

“In what shape will those live who live in thy day? or how will the splendour of those who are after that time continue? Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammelling members, which are now

¹ For the history of this book, probably written by Pharisees in the first century A. D., see R. H. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the same writer's article on 'Apocalyptic Literature' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

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involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt thou perchance change these things which have been in the world as also the world?" God's answer was: "Hear, Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so shall it raise them. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who have departed have returned. And it will come to pass, when they have severally recognised those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come. And it will come to pass that when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly will become worse than is that of those such as suffer torment. Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in my law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them."

And a little further on in the book of Baruch we read that they

"Shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory."

This is the most important passage for the present purpose; but, as Mr Thackeray shows (cf. esp. *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.), many of the details of St Paul's ideas and even language can be paralleled in other Jewish documents. The metaphor, for instance, by which the resurrection body is regarded as a garment is found in the book of Enoch, and the simile of the grain of corn is found in Rabbinical literature.

Thus the general result of a comparison between St Paul's teaching and contemporary Jewish thought is to show that the greater part of his ideas as to the resurrection body were taken from Judaism. But, if the book of Baruch be a fair guide, there is one important detail which cannot be traced in Jewish literature. The idea of a transformation to a more spiritual and more glorious form of existence is comparatively common, but in Jewish thought it took place *after* the resurrection from the dead, not simultaneously with it. The book of Baruch, for instance, looks forward to a resurrection of the dead in their present form in order to secure their recognition by the living, and then to a gradual change to a new method of life. On the other hand, St Paul looks forward to a *sudden* change, "in the twinkling of an eye," when that which is material will become spiritual. This seems to be definitely Pauline and Christian, and cannot be attributed to the influence

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of Jewish thought. It is accordingly natural to trace it to his knowledge of the nature of the resurrection body of the Lord, the first-fruits of the Resurrection, in the light of which knowledge he re-formed his ideas on the Resurrection generally. Arguing backwards, we may therefore say that St Paul believed that the resurrection body of the Lord was from the beginning spiritual, and not material. It became so at the moment of resurrection, and it became so suddenly, not, as the influence of Jewish thought would have led him to suppose, after an interval of renewed material, or, if one may so say, of semi-material life.

At the same time it is important to notice that the influence of Jewish thought would have persuaded St Paul that the Resurrection implied that the old material body was *changed* into a new spiritual one, not that it was, as it were, left behind.

It is now necessary to ask whether St Paul means to distinguish the fact of the Resurrection from the appearances of the risen Lord. Does he mean that the appearances are the proof of the Resurrection and that the first appearance took place on the third day, or does he refer to a definition of the date of the Resurrection regarded as a separate event from the

first appearance of the risen Christ, to which no definite date is assigned?

Many scholars have held the former view, and think that the statement of the appearances of the risen Christ is intended to be the proof of the previous statement that he rose on the third day. It is impossible to say that this opinion is entirely untenable, but the argument, which is at once an exposition of its weak point, and the strongest evidence for the alternative view, is that it requires that St Paul should have said "and was seen on the third day," not "and was raised on the third day." It is possible that this is merely an accidental looseness of expression on St Paul's part, but it cannot be denied that, if we interpret the passage strictly, a distinction is made between the Resurrection on the third day and the appearances of the risen Lord. The latter were the positive evidence on which St Paul relied to prove the existence of a living Lord and his conquest over death; but he had other reasons for fixing the third day as the day of the Resurrection.

In attempting to determine what these reasons may have been, there are only two alternatives: either St Paul meant to give his reason when he said "according to the scriptures," in which case the third day was merely a deduction from scripture; or he was referring

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to some fact which he did not mention, and did not regard as evidence for the Resurrection.

In favour of the view that the third day is merely a deduction from scripture is a comparison of St Paul's words, "raised the third day according to the scriptures," with his earlier statement, "died for our sins according to the scriptures." There is no doubt that in the latter case he means that the reason for attributing an atoning value to the death of Christ is to be found in the Old Testament. He does not mean that the historical fact of the death of Jesus was to be proved by scripture, but that the religious value which he attributed to it had been foretold by the prophets. In the same way, it is possible that, when he says that Christ was raised on the third day according to the scriptures, he does not mean merely that the Resurrection had been foretold, but that, as the Resurrection had taken place, and was attested by the appearances which he goes on to relate, he was justified in fixing the date of the Resurrection on the third day, because of the prophecies which could be found in the Old Testament, and had no doubt formed part of his instruction to his converts. Just as the value of the death of Christ was determined by the Old Testament, so the date of the Resurrection was determined by the same means.

This is at first sight a powerful argument; it is no doubt partially correct, but its weakness is found when one tries to form some idea as to what prophecies St Paul could have been using in reference to the third day. The only evidence we can use for this purpose is supplied by early Christian literature not connected with St Paul. It would appear from Matt. xii. 40 that the story of Jonah in the whale's belly was regarded as a prophecy of the Resurrection, but the force of this parallel is much weakened by two considerations. In the first place, Jonah is related to have been three days and three nights in the whale, whereas the Resurrection on the third day does not seem to mean a greater interval after death than one night and part of two days. If, therefore, the story of Jonah were responsible for the "third day" in the story of the Resurrection, one would have expected a greater degree of coincidence. The discrepancy may legitimately be regarded as pointing to the fact that "the third day" rests upon some other foundation, and that its connexion with the prophecy was an after-thought. In the second place, though the connexion of the Resurrection with the story of Jonah belongs to an early stratum in early Christian literature, it probably does not belong to quite the earliest, for there is little doubt that in Luke xi. 29-32 we have a better representation of the

incident recorded in Matt. xii, 40, and in this the reference to the Resurrection and to Jonah's sojourn in the whale's belly is not mentioned. This also suggests that it was the Resurrection on the third day which suggested the interpretation of Jonah, rather than that the third day was due to the influence of Jonah.

Other passages from the Old Testament which have been suggested as possible sources for the dating of the Resurrection on the third day are Hosea vi. 2, "After two days will he revive us: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him"; and 2 Kings xx. 8, "What shall be the sign that the Lord will heal me, and that I shall go up into the house of the Lord the third day?"—a passage which refers to Hezekiah's recovery from illness. In the absence, however, of any citation of these passages in the New Testament, it does not appear probable that they are the source of St Paul's dating the Resurrection on the third day.

Still, though the evidence for thinking that prophecy is the origin of St Paul's connexion of the third day with the Resurrection is weak in this direction, it remains true that the form of his statement in 1 Cor. xv. points to this conclusion. Even though there are no passages in the Old Testament which, looked at by modern eyes, sufficiently account for the fact, it must

be remembered that we have but comparatively little knowledge of the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament, especially in connexion with the Messianic hope, among the Jews in St Paul's time. Moreover, it is certainly true that if we try to discover what evidence from the Old Testament St Paul used to prove that the death of Christ was "for our sins," we do not find it very easy to show that he relied on evidence which strikes us as particularly convincing. It is possible that the parallelism goes some way. In the case as well of the Resurrection as of the death of Christ, St Paul started with the fact, and may then have tried to use the Old Testament to explain it; in the one case to define its meaning for mankind, in the other case to fix its date.

The possibility, therefore, that the "third day" is due to a direct or indirect deduction from the Old Testament certainly cannot be disregarded. At the same time it is plain that we do not possess evidence strong enough to justify us in thinking that this is a certain solution of the matter. If we reject it, we are driven back to the belief that St Paul knew some other reason for dating the Resurrection on the third day. What this reason can have been we cannot say; we can only be almost certain that it cannot have been anything which he was able to rank as first-hand

direct evidence for the Resurrection. If it had been, it is improbable that he would not have quoted it in his recitation of the evidence, and we are justified in thinking that he considered it to be of a nature not to be used in this way. Granting the Resurrection, the unknown fact enabled him to say that it took place on the third day; but either it was not direct evidence for the Resurrection itself, or was of such a kind that he did not use it as the basis of his teaching at Corinth.

What such a fact can have been—whether, for instance, it can have been knowledge of the women's visit to the tomb, or of a prophecy by Christ, or of contemporary beliefs attaching importance to the third day—must be discussed later in connexion with the comparison of all the various traditions as to the Resurrection.

The evidence on which St Paul bases his teaching of the Resurrection is the appearances of the risen Lord. Other facts he may have known, but he does not adduce them as evidence. The main points which he alleges are plain. They are that the risen Jesus was seen by Peter, by "the twelve," by more than five hundred brethren at once, by James, by all the apostles (as distinguished from the twelve), and, lastly, by himself.

How far these appearances of the risen Lord can be identified with those mentioned in the gospels is an obviously difficult question, which it will be more proper to discuss later. It is, however, well to emphasise at once that St Paul does not recognise any difference between the appearance to himself and the appearances to the other witnesses. In attempting to define the nature of the appearance to St Paul, we have unfortunately no direct account in St Paul's own writing on which we can rely. At the same time, we have in the Acts (see pp. 116 ff.) an account of his conversion and of the appearance of the Lord which probably belongs to the oldest part of the book and was derived by St Luke from St Paul. It would seem from this that the appearance of the Lord at his conversion was of the nature of a sudden vision, which convinced him that he had to deal with Jesus of Nazareth, living and triumphant over death. The whole tendency of the narrative goes to exclude the possibility that he saw anything of the nature of a material form, and we are justified in not hesitating to regard this as probably an accurate description of what he experienced, because it so completely agrees with the deduction drawn from 1 Cor. xv. that St Paul's belief was that the risen Lord was not flesh and blood.

The view that St Paul means that all the appearances

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of the risen Lord were of the same immaterial kind as that to himself does not rest merely on the fact that he draws no distinction between them. The whole of his argument in 1 Cor. xv., to the effect that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, is based on the parallelism between the Resurrection of Christ and the resurrection of Christians. Is it possible to suggest that St Paul was aware of evidence which showed that the risen Lord had a body of flesh and blood? Or is it conceivable that he would have spoken as he did about the resurrection of Christians if he had known all the time that the first-fruits from the dead had been of a different character? The answer to these questions can scarcely be doubted; and it must be noticed that in reality this also excludes the suggestion which has sometimes been made that St Paul is speaking here, if one may so say, of the permanent condition of the resurrection body of Christ, and would not have excluded the possibility that the first few appearances of the risen Lord were of a more material nature than the later ones. This would be to adopt the Jewish view quoted above from the Apocalypse of Baruch, that at the resurrection there will be a gradual transubstantiation of the body. Had St Paul known that the transubstantiation of the resurrection body of the Lord had been of

this gradual nature, there would have been no reason for his not accepting this ordinary Jewish view in his teaching about the general resurrection. He quite clearly excludes this idea: the resurrection is to be sudden and complete, "in the twinkling of an eye," so far as the change of the nature of the body is concerned; and inasmuch as this view is not borrowed from Jewish sources, it must point to his belief that the resurrection body of the Lord had been of this changed nature from the beginning, and that no one had ever seen the risen Lord in such a form as to support any other conclusion.

So much seems unquestionable. Highly probable, though not equally certain, is the view that St Paul means that the appearance to St Peter was the first appearance of the risen Lord. This is certainly the impression which one gets from reading what he says; but it must be conceded that it is possible that St Paul is only giving a selection of the appearances known to him. It is plain that he intends to give the chronological order of the appearances which he narrates, so that the appearance to St Peter must at least have been the earliest of those he records, but it is not equally certain that he did not know of others which were earlier; it is unlikely that he did so, but it is possible.

Whether the appearances were in Galilee or Judæa—

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is left absolutely open by St Paul; he gives no hint as to locality.

The chronology of the appearances is also equally vague. All of them took place between "the third day" and the conversion of St Paul, but there is no clue as to whether the first one was on "the third day"—indeed the suggestion is rather that it was not—or later; nor is there any clue as to whether St Paul's conversion was separated from the other appearances by any considerable lapse of time.

It is perhaps well to mention one objection¹ which has sometimes been made to the authenticity of this passage. It is said that the appearance to the twelve is an anachronism, as, at the time referred to, Matthias had not yet been chosen. Even if this be true it is hypercritical; "the twelve" is the title of a body of men who were originally twelve in number, but it had become a conventional name, and bore no necessary relation to the actual number. St Paul means the men who were known as "the twelve," and is not concerned with the arithmetical accuracy of the phrase at any given moment.

One other question remains. In 1 Cor. xv. 3,

¹ The ablest indictment of the authenticity of 1 Corinthians is W. C. van Manen's *Paulus*: I am, however, quite unable to share my predecessor's views on this point. An adequately full treatment of them is given in C. Clemen's *Paulus: sein Leben und Wirken*.

St Paul says, "I delivered unto you that which I also received." Does this mean, as it naturally would, that St Paul was handing on a tradition which he had found existing among Christians at his conversion, or does it refer, as has been sometimes suggested, to a vision or revelation?

The only method of dealing with this point is to examine passages in which St Paul seems to make similar use of information as to the life and teaching of our Lord. The main passages are 1 Cor. xi. 23, 1 Thess. iv. 15, and 1 Cor. vii. 6.

In the first of these passages St Paul is speaking about the institution of the Eucharist, and prefaces his account by saying, "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you," and then gives an account of the institution which is roughly the same as that in the Synoptic Gospels. It differs, however, from what is probably the earliest text of the Third Gospel, with which it might have been supposed to show special affinity, in that the latter places the cup before the bread, an order to which evidence is also given by the *Didache*. It is therefore probable¹ that

¹ This view would, however, be disputed by many who have made a special study of the history of the Eucharist. The question obviously cannot be discussed here, but a special reference may be made to the interesting treatment in A. Andersen's *Das Abendmahl* and in W. Heitmüller's *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*.

St Paul was referring to some tradition, which he regarded as representing the direct commands of the Lord, similar to the Marcan account of the institution of the Eucharist.

In the second passage (1 Thess. iv. 15) St Paul is speaking about the Parousia, in connexion with difficulties as to the hope of the resurrection of the faithful. In Thessalonica these were chiefly concerned with the question whether those who remained alive would have any advantage at the Parousia over those who had died. St Paul tells them that those who are alive will be taken up together with those that slept "to meet the Lord in the air," and he says that he makes this statement "by (ἐν) the (or a) word of the Lord." Here we seem to have a choice between a knowledge of the teaching of Christ, interpreted no doubt in the light of Jewish Apocalyptic doctrine, and a vision or revelation. Dr A. Resch, in his *Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu*, p. 339, thinks that an identification can be made between this passage and Mark xiii. 26 f.; and without going so far as this, it must at least be admitted that a common tradition as to the teaching of Jesus may lie behind the passage in 1 Thess. and the eschatological discourse in Mark xiii.

In the third passage (1 Cor. vii. 10) St Paul is referring to the question of divorce: "Unto the married

I give charge, yea, not I, but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband . . . and that the husband leave not his wife; but to the rest say I, not the Lord," etc. Here it is certainly easier to think that St Paul is making use either of his knowledge of the teaching of Jesus, whether derived from a written or an oral source, than that he refers to a vision which had instructed him on some points but not on others. If it be thought to find a place in the gospels which may be regarded as representing the source used by St Paul, there can be little doubt but that it must be looked for in Mark x. 11-12. This view becomes even more probable if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Burkitt¹ that the historical cause of the discourse in Mark is to be found in the scandalous conduct of Herodias, and that the Old Syriac text should be preferred which places the case of the woman before that of the man, thus reading, "That woman which leaveth her husband, and becometh the wife of another, doth indeed commit adultery; and that man which leaveth his wife, and taketh another, doth indeed commit adultery." It will be seen that this text (found also in a few Greek MSS.) agrees with St Paul in placing the case of the woman before that of the

¹ In *Evangelion Da Mepharreshe*, vol. ii, p. 250, and in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. v. pp. 628 ff. (July 1904).

man, which is not the natural order. If Professor Burkitt's suggestion be correct, there is an historical reason for this order in our Lord's discourse, but it is difficult to see that there is any reason for it in St Paul's epistle, unless he is quoting some tradition of the teaching of the Lord which is singularly like our Second Gospel. It is also worth noticing that the Old Syriac, supported by Codex Bezae and the Old Latin version, presents a further textual variant, which is at once closer both to St Paul and to the facts of Herodias' conduct, in that it reads, "leaveth her husband," instead of "puts away her husband."

The evidence of these passages, supported as they might be by others of less importance, all of which have been collected by Dr Resch, is not sufficient to supply demonstrative proof, but seems to render it probable that St Paul was acquainted with some formulated tradition as to the teaching and history of our Lord, and that he is referring to this tradition when he says, in 1 Cor. xv. 3, "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received."

If this be so, the description of the evidence for the Resurrection of the Lord represents not only St Paul's preaching to the Corinthians, but, at least in part, also the tradition which he had found in the Church at his conversion, or at his first visit to Jerusalem.

It is, however, probably impossible to divide these verses into two parts—the original “preaching” which St Paul received, and the additions which he made to it himself.

It is of course obvious that in any case the last verse of all, giving his own experience, is an addition which St Paul has made to what he received, and it is impossible to prove that it is only this verse which he so added; but there is not sufficient evidence for going any further with confidence. It is thought by some that there is a break after the end of verse 5, or perhaps after the account of the appearance to Cephas, and it is true that slight changes in the construction of the sentence may be noted; they are, however, surely quite insufficient to justify any precise definition of the point at which the tradition which St Paul had received comes to an end and his own additions begin. All that can be said is that what he received undoubtedly includes the appearance to Cephas; that what he added is at least the appearance to himself: the intervening appearances perhaps belong to one source, perhaps to the other.

An examination, therefore, of the evidence of St Paul leads to the result that he believed the risen Lord to have appeared to himself and to other disciples in a manner which left no room for doubt as to his triumph

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over death. He thought that the body of the risen Lord no longer consisted of flesh and blood, but that a transubstantiation into spirit had taken place. This transubstantiation he believed to have taken place on the third day, and this belief was either based on a deduction from the Old Testament, or on some fact which he does not adduce as evidence of the Resurrection, and nowhere defines in his epistles. It is highly probable that he believed the first appearance of the risen Lord to have been to St Peter, but there is no evidence to show where it took place. It is almost certain that he derived some part of his teaching as to the appearances of the risen Lord from the early tradition which obtained, probably in Jerusalem, when he became a Christian, but it is impossible to define exactly the limits of his use of this tradition.

CHAPTER II

THE NARRATIVE OF THE RESURRECTION IN MARK AND THE PARALLEL SYN- OPTIC PASSAGES

As was said in the Introduction, the result of modern criticism is to emphasise the close connexion between the Synoptic Gospels, and to explain it as due to the use of a common source. This fact has to be taken into account in considering any narrative which is found in more than one gospel. Many of the details still remain in many ways doubtful, but it is now generally held to be proved that the first and third evangelists¹ made use of a document which was, both in language and contents, so closely related to Mark that the only question is whether it was or was not quite identical with it. Mark

¹ As a matter of convenience, I have adopted the custom of writing St Matthew, St Mark, etc., when I mean the persons, and omitting the St when I mean the books, independently of their authorship, or the redactors who produced the canonical text.

xvi. 9-20 is an undoubtedly later addition, which has to be considered separately. It seems probable that this document was already in existence about the close of the seventh decade of the first century, and it was used by the two other synoptic writers, probably before, and certainly not long after, the beginning of the second century. When, therefore, we find a narrative which is given in all three gospels, we have no right to say that we have three separate accounts of the same incident; but we must take the account in Mark as presumably the basis of the other two, and ask whether their variations cannot be explained as due to obscurities or ambiguities in their source, which they tried to clear up, though they did not do so always in the same way, or in ways which were consistent with one another. Thus, since Matthew and Luke, so far as they are dealing with the Marcan source, are not first-hand evidence, but rather the two earliest attempts to comment on and explain Mark, we are by no means bound to follow the explanations given by either, if they seem to be contrary to the real meaning of the source; though it is of course always necessary to ask whether they may not represent some early and independent tradition. Moreover, there is always the possibility to be considered that our Mark is not absolutely identical with the original source. Especially is this the case when

Matthew and Luke agree in omitting, for no apparent reason, some detail which is recorded in Mark. Under such circumstances, there is always an *a priori* case for the view that the canonical Mark has an interpolation which was not yet in the text which was used by Matthew and Luke.

The further question of the sources used in Mark is perhaps insoluble. According to the earliest tradition, St Mark used his recollections of the teaching of St Peter, whose interpreter he was. Most critics recognise the substantial truth of this tradition, but it is of course very improbable that he confined himself to any one source—the writers of the first century did not do such things—and, therefore, one can never say with certainty that any one passage belongs or does not belong to the Petrine source, or to some other tradition known to Mark. Furthermore, some critics have thought it possible to detect doublets—two accounts of the same incident—in Mark, and in consequence have assumed that he used written and probably Aramaic documents.

However this may be, it is at least certain that for any investigation into the life or any part of the life of our Lord Mark must hold a principal place, and the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke must be considered in relation to it, and not separately. It is this task which will be attempted, so far as the

narratives of the Resurrection are concerned, in the present chapter.

For this purpose the narrative may be taken to begin with the account of the burial in Mark xv. 42, and to go down to the end of the genuine text in xvi. 8.

For convenience of discussion it may be divided into six sections—(1) the burial; (2) the visit of the women to the tomb; (3) the appearance of the young man at the tomb; (4) the message of the young man; (5) the conduct of the women; (6) the appearance of the risen Lord.

(1) *The burial.*—The account in Mark xv. 42-47 is as follows:—

And when even was now come, because it was the Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he knew it of the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph. And he bought a linen cloth, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus beheld where he was laid.

Narratives which betray direct literary dependence on this account (or on the document which lies behind

it) are found in Matthew xxvii. 57-61 and Luke xxiii. 50-56.

In the original account there are only three points on which it is not explicit: (a) the motive of Joseph of Arimathæa; (b) the character and position of the grave; and (c) the position of the women. Naturally the redactors of the dependent documents directed their attention to the elucidation of these three points, and as the result of their efforts different answers are given to each question in Matthew and in Luke.

The account in Matthew is as follows:—

When even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathæa, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple: this man went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded it to be given up. And Joseph took the body and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb, and departed. And Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.

It will be seen that the answer to the first point is that Joseph was a rich disciple; to the second, that it was a new tomb which Joseph himself had made in the cliff; and to the third, that the women sat opposite the grave and watched him. Matthew omits the fact that Joseph was a member of the Sanhedrim, and says nothing about Pilate's hesitation.

Luke follows a somewhat different line. His account is as follows :—

And, behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, a good man and a just (he had not consented to the counsel and deed of them), a man of Arimathæa, a city of the Jews, who looked for the kingdom of God. This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb of hewn stone, wherein never man had yet lain. And it was the Preparation day, and the sabbath was dawning. And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments ; and rested on the sabbath day according to the commandment.

Luke's answers, therefore, are that Joseph was a good and just man, who, although a member of the Sanhedrim, had not agreed with his colleagues, and took this method of showing his sympathy with a wrongfully convicted man. Sympathy, rather than discipleship, is the explanation of Joseph's conduct. So far as the tomb is concerned, Luke partly follows the same line as Matthew, emphasising the fact that it was a new tomb, but, unlike Matthew, his words suggest a misunderstanding of its nature. According to Mark it was a grave cut out of the rock, *i.e.* in the side of a cliff, as was usual in Jerusalem ; but for Luke this description was apparently unintelligible, and he therefore

altered the description into a "tomb of hewn stone": a far less probable type of grave in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

The position of the women he defines in the same spirit as, but in different language from, that of Matthew, and omits their names altogether. Like Matthew, Luke omits the fact of Pilate's hesitation, but preserves the mention of Joseph's membership of the Sanhedrim. On the other hand, he omits the closing of the tomb by rolling a stone before its entrance.

Is there anything in these alterations which points to the knowledge of a superior tradition, or can they be explained as merely the work of the redactor? The latter is almost certainly the case with most of them. It is surely clear that the discipleship of Joseph is merely the interpretation which Matthew put on the statement that he was "waiting for the kingdom of God," and the omission to mention Joseph's membership of the Sanhedrim is the result of that interpretation. The statement by Matthew that Joseph was rich, and by Luke that he was "just and good," are similarly rival paraphrases of the original *εὐσχήμων*, which, as Phrynicius the grammarian explains,¹ had obtained in vulgar speech the meaning of rich, though it properly means "of good standing." Luke

¹ See H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St Mark*, p. 391.

interpreted it according to its literary use, Matthew according to its colloquial meaning. The statement in Luke that the tomb was made of hewn stone is clearly an attempt to explain the phrase "cut out of the rock (or cliff)," which was not easy for a stranger to understand, and its explanation in this way may have led to the omission of any mention of the stone which was rolled against the opening of the tomb.¹ It is instructive to notice that the later scribe who restored this last detail in the so-called Western text, also altered the Lucan word, "hewn out of the stone" (λαξεύτω), back to the original word for "cut out" (λελατομένω).

These alterations can therefore be explained as the work of redactors who were using Mark. But there are three omissions common to Matthew and Luke which demand notice and give rise to doubt whether the document which they used was not an earlier form of Mark, rather than our Mark itself. In other words, there are three places in which it is legitimate to ask whether Mark has not been interpolated.

The first is the clause "because it was the Preparation," or, as one might quite as well translate, "because it was Friday." This clause does not reappear in Matthew, and the similar clause in Luke is connected

¹ But the stone is implied in Luke xxiv. 2. Either St Luke forgot his previous omission, or the latter was, after all, accidental.

with the action not of Joseph but of the women. Moreover, it is a little inaccurate to suggest that Joseph was induced to hasten by the approach of the Sabbath. Sunset, not the Sabbath, was the time which was the limit for burying a criminal, according to the law of Deuteronomy. Finally, it is remarkable that this clause is introduced by a particle (*ἐπει*) which does not come elsewhere in Mark. If it were not that the witness of Luke is doubtful, this cumulative evidence would probably be sufficient to justify one in regarding this clause as a secondary feature in Mark, not part of the original document which was used in Matthew and Luke. As it is, the balance of argument is against it, but not decisively.

A somewhat similar result is reached by a consideration of the omission both by Matthew and Luke of Pilate's hesitation. The agreement between the two later gospels suggests the question whether this passage is not an interpolation of our Mark, and formed no part of the original Marcan document. The arguments are fairly equally divided. On the one hand, there is no reason why either Matthew or Luke should have omitted this incident if it had been part of their source, and it is of course still more unlikely that they would have both accidentally omitted the same section. Also, it is certainly true that there is a very harsh change of

subject in xv. 46, which disappears if verses 44-45 are omitted, and that the word *ἔδωρήσατο* in verse 45 is not found elsewhere in the New Testament except in 2 Peter i. 3. On the other hand, it may be argued that there is no reason for such an interpolation, that it was probably omitted by Matthew and Luke because it seemed unimportant, and that *ἔδωρήσατο* is a peculiarly suitable word if we take it in connection with *εὐσχήμων*, in the sense of rich; the implication being that Joseph, the rich man, was prepared to bribe Pilate, but to his surprise obtained his request without bribery. It is probably impossible to choose between these two lines of argument. Verses 44-45 may be an interpolation in Mark, or their omission by both Matthew and Luke may be merely a coincidence.

The third point of this kind is concerned with the mention or omission of the women's names, and especially the identification of the second Mary as the mother of Joses (or James). If this were part of the original Marcan document, how is it that Matthew only speaks in a vague way of "the other Mary," and that Luke omits all mention of the names of the women? It is possible that to a later generation the names were less interesting than to that which Mark addressed, and so slipped out of the narratives; but Luke, at least, shows elsewhere no signs of a tendency to omit names, and in

general it is true that the later literature, so far from leaving out names of people and places, consistently invents them. Abundance of detail (which, as a rule, does not bear investigation) is a marked characteristic of Apocryphal gospels. There is therefore something to be said for the view that the original Marcan document did not give any names in Mark xv. 47, and that this form was used by Luke; that a later edition, used by Matthew, identified the women as Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary"; and that another editor produced the text which is found in the canonical Mark. There is a certain amount of textual confusion in Mark at this point, which might be pressed into the service at this point of this hypothesis, and it could, of course, also be applied to Mark xv. 40. The chief objection to it is not so much its complicated character, for complex problems call for complex solutions, but the difficulty of applying it throughout the gospels, since it has at least not yet been proved that an earlier edition of Mark was used by Luke than by Matthew.¹

Still, for the present purpose these three points are not of the first importance. Nothing turns on the mention of Friday, on the hesitation of Pilate, or on the precise names of the women who watched Joseph.

¹ See A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, and *St Luke's Gospel in Greek*, for arguments in favour of this theory.

The really important thing is, that in none of the points in which the dependent narratives supplement Mark do the alterations appear to be anything more than redactors' suppositions, which may or may not be correct, but at least have no special authority.

(2) *The visit to the tomb.*—The Marcan account, as preserved in Mark xvi. 1-5, is as follows:—

And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought spices, that they might come and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week, they came to the tomb at sunrise. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the tomb? And they looked up, and saw that the stone was rolled away, for it was very great.

Directly dependent accounts are found in Matt. xxviii. 1 and Luke xxiv. 1-2.

This account also is in Mark simple and intelligible; according to it, immediately after sunset, when the Sabbath rest was over, the women, who had noticed where the grave of Jesus was, bought spices in order to pay to the body of their Master those last tributes of respect which Joseph had omitted. They were obliged to wait for the approach of daylight to fulfil their purpose, but as soon as it was light they went to the grave. As they went they discussed the possibility that they would have difficulty in entering the tomb

because of the stone which closed its entrance, but on looking up they saw that it was open, and the writer explains that they were able to see this from a distance because of the size of the stone.

There are nevertheless two points on which the narrative may easily be misunderstood or give rise to a desire for amplification.

(a) In the first place, a superficial reading would not make it quite clear that the text implies a whole night's interval between the Sabbath which was past and the first morning of the week which was dawning. If the reader were accustomed to a reckoning of time which counted the beginning of each day from sunrise, he would be inclined to interpret "early on the first day of the week" as implying that the first day of the week was then beginning, and that the Sabbath had only then ended. This point seems to have affected both the First and Third Gospels.

The former says :—

Late on the sabbath day, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.

This statement implies a reckoning of days in which the dividing line was sunrise, not sunset. It would surely have been impossible for anyone who felt that the Sabbath ended at sunset to speak of the hour before

the dawn of the first day of the week as late on the Sabbath day. It is usually said that *ὀψὲ τοῦ σαββάτου* must mean "after the Sabbath," but there does not seem to be any evidence for such a use of *ὀψὲ*, nor is there any evidence, as has sometimes been suggested, that the Jews in the time of Christ employed two divisions of time, one the usually known system of the law, by which the day began and ended at sunset, and another, which divided the days at sunrise, and was used only for the purposes of daily life. The most probable view, therefore, is that the redactor of the First Gospel made a slight mistake in his interpretation of the Marcan source.¹ Owing to his omission of the names of the women, and of the fact that they bought spices to anoint the body, the two Marcan phrases,

¹ Some commentators have found a difficulty in this phrase, which represents *ἀνατείλωντος τοῦ ἡλίου*. It is argued that this ought to mean after the sun had risen, and that there is a contradiction between this and the statement in the same verse that the women came very early, on the ground that in the East "very early" cannot mean after sunrise. It is possible that this view underlies the reading of D and some other MSS. which have *ἀνατέλλοντος* instead of *ἀνατείλωντος*. This difficulty is, however, groundless. The proper force of the aorist participle is timeless, and the more accurate translation of *ἀνατείλωντος τοῦ ἡλίου* is merely "at sunrise." The difference between it and *ἀνατέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου*, "while the sun was rising," is minute, but perceptible, though it consists rather in the attitude adopted by the writer to the event which he is describing than in any difference in the event itself. Greek can express this difference of attitude by a change of participle; English cannot.

“when the sabbath was past,” and “very early on the morning of the first day of the week,” were brought together and seemed to refer to the same event. Probably he preferred the phrases with which he replaced the Marcan ones, as representing the facts less ambiguously.

Much the same is probably true of the Third Gospel, though the matter is here somewhat more complicated, as Luke has rather freely rearranged the notes of time. These are as follows :—

In Luke xxiii. 54 he says :—

And it was the day of the preparation and the sabbath began to dawn.

It will be noted that the R.V. says, “And the sabbath drew on”; but, as the revisers note in the margin, the Greek should be translated as above. There is no evidence for *ἐπιφωσκειν* in Greek in any sense except a reference to sunrise, nor is there any reason to think that Luke is here using an Aramaic source, and the English version is due to the attempt to harmonise the gospels.

In Luke xxiii. 56—xxiv. 1 the writer says :—

And they returned and prepared spices and ointments. And on the sabbath they rested according to the commandment. But on the first day of the week at early dawn they came unto the tomb.

I suggest that the explanation of this rearrangement is to be found in the fact that Luke did not fully understand or had momentarily forgotten the Jewish time-reckoning, and thought that, according to the law, Joseph of Arimathæa and the women had the whole of Friday evening and night at their disposal. Paraphrasing the Marcan account under the influence of this opinion, he naturally thought that the women prepared the spices during the night before the Sabbath, and came to the tomb as soon as the Sabbath was over—that is to say, on the dawn of the Sunday. It is true that this account does not strictly agree with the Marcan narrative; but the latter would scarcely be intelligible to a reader who did not recognise the Jewish method of reckoning days. Anyone who used it in ignorance or forgetfulness of this system would be impressed chiefly by two facts: first, that the women observed the law of the Sabbath; and, secondly, that they took to the tomb, at the earliest possible moment, spices which they had already prepared. Reckoning time on the non-Jewish system, this would mean that they rested from sunrise on Saturday till sunrise on Sunday. In this case they must have prepared their spices during the night between Friday and Saturday. This is precisely the Lucan narrative, and therefore one is justified in think-

ing that the reason for the difference between the Lucan and the Marcan account is not due to the use by Luke of an ultimately different tradition, but to an attempt to interpret the Marcan document in forgetfulness of the method of reckoning time employed by the Jews.

(b) In the second place, the account in Mark obviously suggests the question as to who rolled the stone away, but gives no answer to it. It is not unfair to say that the tendency of writers of the first century was to explain whatever was not obvious by the suggestion of miraculous intervention, and to emphasise more and more at each repetition of the story its wonderful character. In the present instance Luke did not amplify or explain the point which Mark left open ; but Matthew (as will be seen later) follows a very obvious development of the tradition, and suggests that the stone was moved by an angel who came down from heaven ; but this is part of the non-Markan tradition used by Matthew, and must be dealt with later on. It is only necessary here to notice that it is inserted to give an answer to the question suggested by the Marcan account.

One other point remains to be considered in connexion with Matthew : Why is the account shortened by the omission of the women's purpose to anoint the body,

or rather by a substitution of a desire to see the grave? The answer is to be found in the combination of the two causes. In the first place, Matthew had adopted a tradition of a guard at the tomb, which rendered the suggestion of anointing practically impossible; and, in the second place, he had given an explanation of the burial by Joseph of Arimathæa—discipleship—which rendered it improbable that the latter had omitted the usual last kindnesses to a dead friend's body. As will be seen later, it seems likely that a development of this view led to the definite statement at a later time that Joseph actually did anoint, but Matthew does not go so far; the redactor was contented with representing the visit of the women in such a way as not to conflict with his view of Joseph of Arimathæa.

Thus the shortening in some respects and amplification in others in Matthew can (if one may assume the result of the discussion of the non-Marcian tradition used in Matthew) be satisfactorily explained, and does not suggest that we have here the traces of a really valuable tradition. The shortening in Luke, and the confusion in the notes of time so far as they have not already been dealt with, seem to be entirely stylistic and to need no further explanation.

(3) *The young man at the tomb.*—The account of what the women saw at the tomb is contained in Mark

xvi. 5. Dependent narratives are found in Matt. xxviii. 2-5 and in Luke xxiv. 3-5.

And entering into the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a white garment; and they were astonished.

As it stands in Mark, this account gives rise at once to two questions: Did they see for themselves that the grave was empty? and who was the young man who appeared to them? Neither question is answered in Mark, but before considering the bearing of this fact, it is first necessary to ask whether the version given above represents the original text. According to it, the women entered the tomb and found a young man seated within on the right hand. No other meaning can be extracted from it, or ever could have been, in the presence of the word *εἰσελθοῦσαι* in verse 5 and the reference contained in the corresponding *ἐξελθοῦσαι* in verse 8. But in the case of neither of these words is the text perfectly certain. The former is in the Vatican MS. weakened to *ἐλθοῦσαι*, while the latter is not represented in the Arabic Diatessaron, and in some MSS. is altered to *ἀκούσαντες*. The weight of textual evidence is against these alterations, but, on the other hand, transcriptional probability is in their favour. It is unlikely that later scribes would have introduced changes in the text which were calculated to weaken

the evidence for the belief that the women had made a complete examination of the tomb, and if these changes be made, the text of Mark would leave it doubtful whether the women saw the young man on the right hand of the inside or of the outside of the tomb; for ἐλθούσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον need not mean more than "when they came to the tomb." Is it possible that this represents the original form of the narrative? In the absence of other evidence, it may not be ill-advised to consider the evidence of a comparison with the two other gospels, Matthew and Luke, which are closely based on the Marcan narrative, and of the Fourth Gospel and the Gospel of Peter, which follow it with greater freedom. It has already been seen, in cases in which the Marcan document is undoubtedly ambiguous or difficult, that the dependent narratives adopted divergent methods of elucidating the points at issue; it may therefore be allowed to reverse this argument and see whether the dependent narratives in the present case support the suggestion that the ground document was ambiguous. They certainly seem to do so. Matthew represents the angel, who is in his narrative the equivalent of the young man of Mark, as seated on the stone which he had just rolled away; he was therefore regarded by Matthew as *outside* the tomb. It is equally plain that Luke regards the two

men, who in his narrative represent the Marcan young man, as appearing *within* the tomb. Furthermore, the Fourth Gospel and the Gospel of Peter narrate that the women did not enter the tomb, but stooped down and saw an angel or angels sitting within. These two last accounts may quite well represent an attempt at conflation between two traditions which differed, or were not explicit, as to the position of the women and the angel with regard to the tomb, and so far they support the suggestion, which is rather strongly made by Matthew and Luke, that the ground document was ambiguous on this point. The weak point in this argument is that it does not take account of the possibility that Matthew altered the Marcan document owing to the influence of the story of the watchers. It could be argued that the angel had to be kept in the presence of the watchers and of the women, and that the word ἀπελθούσαι in verse 8 is a proof that the ground document of Matthew contained an account of an actual entry into the tomb. This is perhaps not a convincing argument, but it may be taken as practically balancing the previous one. It is impossible finally to decide between the two. I think that the balance of probability remains slightly in favour of the view that the original Marcan document narrated the story of the vision at the tomb in such a way as not to

state plainly that the women entered the tomb, but I should not be prepared to put emphasis on the argument.

Returning to the dependent narrative in Matthew and its use in Mark, one finds that this section has been completely absorbed in the non-Markan tradition, which describes the descent of a "great angel of the Lord" to roll away the stone. The point of connexion is that the message which in Mark is delivered by the young man, is in Matthew delivered by the "great angel." Thus the actual words of Mark have disappeared, but in such a way as to show how the two points were elucidated which in Mark are left unexplained.

With regard to the examination of the grave, Matthew probably but not certainly excludes it. That is to say, the women are represented as seeing the angel before they actually enter the tomb; but it is possible that the "Come see" of Matt. xxviii. 6, combined with the "departed quickly from the tomb" of Matt. xxviii. 8, is intended to imply that the women afterwards entered and examined the tomb. In any case this is not strictly in agreement with Mark, but how far it differs depends on the answer to the previous question as to the exact text of the original Mark.

As to the identity of the young man, he is in

Matthew a "great angel of the Lord," but the development and importance of this view will be best dealt with later.

In Luke similar but not identical answers are given. The narrative in Luke xxiv. 3-5 reads as follows:—

And they entered in, and found not the body. And it came to pass, while they were perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazzling apparel: and as they were perplexed and bowed down their faces to the earth, etc.

Much of this seems to be due to stylistic alteration and attempts to elucidate the point left doubtful in Mark.

In the first place, emphasis is laid on the entry of the women into the tomb, and the addition is made that they could not find the body. Is it necessary to suppose that this addition is anything more than the comment of the redactor? Surely not. It was the almost universally held opinion of early Christians that the Resurrection necessarily implied that the tomb was empty, and Luke only reflects this fact, perhaps all the more because the narrative is at least partly directed against the Docetic heresy.

In the second place, though the word "angel" is not used, it is scarcely open to doubt that the meaning is that the two men were supernatural beings. So far as

their character is concerned, this is quite a natural interpretation, for a writer in the first century, of the ambiguous "young man" of Mark. But why are there two men in Luke instead of one? The answer is not quite plain, but it seems probable that there was a general belief in Jewish and possibly other circles that two angels were specially connected with the messages of God; it will, however, be more convenient to discuss this more fully at a later point, when an attempt will be made to bring together and trace the development of the various forms in which the original "young man" is represented in various books (cf. pp. 185-7). Whether the change which converted the "young man" of Mark into the "two men" of Luke was made for the first time by St Luke and is merely redactorial, or is due to his knowledge of some other tradition, is not easy to say, but there are signs elsewhere that the "Jerusalem tradition" which he also used has caused him to modify the Marcan narrative, and it is probable that the "two men" are also due to this cause. Here, then, we have for the first time in Luke a probable trace of knowledge of a tradition not identical with Mark, and of alterations which seem to point to something more than the ordinary desire of a redactor to explain his source. Whether the tradition is really ultimately separate from the Marcan is another question,—in this particular

case probably it is not,—but for the present all that is being asked is how far the alterations from Mark in Matthew and Luke can be explained as due to merely redactorial rewriting, and how far they imply the existence of other traditions, which were known to and influenced the redactors. It is, however, not out of place to point out that just as Luke shows no sign of knowledge of the tradition of the “great angel of the Lord” who rolled away the stone, so Matthew shows no sign of knowledge of the tradition of “the two men.”

(4) *The message to the women.*—The message which the young man delivered to the women was, according to Mark xvi. 6–7, as follows:—

And he saith unto them, Be not astonished : Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified : he is risen ; he is not here : behold the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee : there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.

This simple and intelligible message in itself gives no rise to doubt as to its meaning, yet in the other gospels, in Matt. xxviii. 5–7 and in Luke xxiv. 5–7, it appears in forms which vary rather considerably, and even the textual tradition of Mark is not perfectly certain. To begin with the latter point. Codex Bezae reads (correcting solecisms of spelling) : *μη φοβείσθε, τὸν*

Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὧδε, ἴδετε ἐκεῖ [τὸν] τόπον αὐτοῦ ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν, which must be translated, "He is risen, he is not *here*, lo, *there* is the place where they laid him." This reading probably lies behind the Old Latin version, and it is by no means impossible that it is the original text. If so, it is easy to see why it was altered, for the natural meaning of the distinction between "here" and "there" might be taken to imply that the women were not looking in the right place, and such a possibility would soon be excluded by the correction of the scribes.

In Matthew the account is not essentially altered, but is a little expanded. It runs as follows:—

And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and lo, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.

It is noticeable here that the emphasis laid on the "ye" is due to the influence of the non-Markan tradition of the guard at the tomb; the mere statement that the Lord was risen is expanded by bringing the Resurrection into connexion with a prophecy of Jesus, which, however, is not quoted; and the statement

that he is not in the tomb is changed into an invitation to come and examine it. Also, in the second part of the message, the reference to Peter is omitted, the direct statement of the Resurrection is repeated, and "as he said unto you" is changed into "lo, I have told you." These changes do not seem to be important; they are merely stylistic, intended to make the story more vivid, and neither add to nor take from the sense of the narrative in Mark.

In Luke the message runs as follows:—

And as they were afraid and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is risen; remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, etc.

It has thus been changed from a command to go into Galilee into a reference to words spoken in Galilee. This abandonment of Mark was rendered necessary by the view adopted later on in Luke that the appearances of the risen Lord took place in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and that the disciples remained there and did not return to Galilee. It does not show that St Luke was unacquainted with Mark, but that he rejected it in favour of the Jerusalem tradition. The story has thus been so much altered that one cannot say with confidence whether the change was actually made by St Luke or had already been made in the Jerusalem

tradition which he used. In other words, one cannot be certain of the exact point at which he definitely changed from using Mark to using the Jerusalem tradition. In any case the Lucan version of the message to the women is so entirely coloured by the Jerusalem tradition that it must be discussed with the rest of the specially Lucan narrative, and the question will ultimately have to be faced whether it can be reconciled to the Marcan account, and what the relation of the two traditions, as distinguished from the Marcan and Lucan documents, really was to each other.

(5) *The conduct of the women.*—Our knowledge of what the women did after receiving the message of the young man is sadly limited by the imperfect preservation of the conclusion of Mark. All that we have which quite certainly belongs to the original document is contained in Mark xvi. 8.

And they came out and fled from the tomb, for trembling and panic seized them, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid of—

It is impossible to say what the women were afraid of, but it is much more likely that an object originally followed *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* than that it was used absolutely, though the latter construction might be considered possible if it were not for the strangeness of a sentence ending with *γὰρ*. It is therefore probable that the

sentence originally ran, "for they were afraid of the Jews," or some such phrase.

By a consent which is one of the problems of New Testament criticism, the dependent documents either abandon the use of Mark at this point or change its meaning. In the Gospel of Peter alone is the sense preserved, as will be seen later. In Matt. xxviii. 8 an exactly opposite meaning has been introduced, though the words have been so largely retained that it is plain that the writer was acquainted with and under the influence of Mark. It reads:—

They departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples—

which is exactly what Mark says that they did not do—and then goes on to follow a different tradition. Obviously the redactor knew Mark, but rejected it at this point in favour of another tradition. In Luke also Mark has already been abandoned, and the Jerusalem tradition has permanently taken its place. Moreover, the early Church so far agreed with this dislike of the end of Mark that it lost all memory of the genuine conclusion, and replaced it by the late and inferior composition which is discussed on pp. 120 ff.

We can, therefore, form no certain judgment as to what the genuine Mark represented the women as doing after they fled from the tomb, beyond that it is clearly

intended that they did not report what they had seen. One may, it is true, with a probability that almost amounts to certainty, suggest that Mark went on to explain how they came ultimately to tell their experience,¹ probably after the news of the appearance of the risen Lord in Galilee had become known; but the deliberate silence of the women at the beginning—which is the main point—is perfectly plain, for the statement is quite emphatic, and it is difficult to understand how anyone could ever have suggested that it means anything else.

(6) *The appearances of the risen Lord.*—In spite of the arguments of Wellhausen (in *Das Evangelium Marci*), few people will ever doubt that the original Mark ended with an account of the risen Lord to the disciples in Galilee, to which the narrative seems clearly intended to lead up. The question is whether it is possible to recover the contents of this last part of Mark either from indications elsewhere in the gospel or from other sources which may have used the complete Mark.

So far as the former is concerned, there are three hints given in the earlier part of Mark. The first of these

¹ Professor Schmiedel is inclined to think that the meaning of Mark is that the story is told for the first time. This seems to me unwarranted by the evidence: but certainly the suggestion of Mark is that the silence of the women was not broken immediately.

is in Mark xiv. 27. According to this the Lord said :—

All ye shall be offended, for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

This must be intended to prepare the way for the desertion of Jesus by the disciples, and their flight to their homes. Moreover, it would seem that, according to Mark, this actually took place after the betrayal. The arrival of Judas with the soldiers was the signal for the flight—either to their homes or to hiding—of the disciples: “They all left him and fled.” Only one followed him to his trial; and he denied him shortly afterwards. There is no hint given that any of the disciples were present at the crucifixion. All had fled: only a few women remained, and they watched the last moments of their Master from afar.

The second indication is given in Mark xvi. 7—the message of the young man—which clearly points to a concluding scene in which the risen Lord appeared in Galilee to his disciples.

Thirdly, the special emphasis in Mark xvi. 7 on St Peter as distinct from the other disciples suggests that the first appearance in Galilee was to him, though probably it was not the only one. It is scarcely necessary to point out how much in keeping this view is with the traditional connexion of St Mark with St Peter.

Thus all the hints which can be gathered from Mark point to the probability that the lost conclusion implied a return to Galilee by the panic-stricken disciples, followed by an appearance of the risen Lord to St Peter and to the others. This view has the advantage that it not merely agrees with but explains the silence of the women, which is perfectly intelligible if the disciples, to whom they would naturally have narrated their experience, were not within reach.

It is possible that Mark also contained more: that, for instance, it describes the return of the disciples to Jerusalem. Such a continuation would be natural enough in a narrative written by Mark the Jerusalemite, whose mother's house seems to have entertained St Peter at a later period; but there is no evidence of its existence.

There is only one really serious objection to this reconstruction. It is said that the exact wording of Mark xvi. 7, as well as of xiv. 28, "But after I am risen I will go before you into Galilee," implies not a flight into Galilee, but rather that the risen Lord would lead the disciples into Galilee from Judæa. If this were certainly the meaning of Mark, one would have to admit that it is inconsistent with the indications just mentioned. It is, however, surely not necessary to take the passage in this way. Two suggestions are

possible: (a) It is quite probable that the meaning is, "I will be in Galilee before you," and there is then no real difficulty; for the criticism which finds a contradiction with this rendering seems to forget that from Jerusalem to Galilee is rather a long journey. We might even paraphrase a little more freely: "You will all be scattered and return to your homes in Galilee, but as soon as you reach home I will appear to you; in spite of the fact that you left me in Jerusalem to be crucified and buried, you will find me in Galilee as soon as you arrive there." I fail to see that there is any impossibility in this interpretation, or that it leaves any difficulty in reconciling Mark xiv. 27 and 28. (b) It is possible that the meaning is, "I will be your leader in Galilee." It is notorious that in late Greek the difference between εἰς (into) and ἐν (in) was lost. In a literary style an effort was made to preserve it, but in the non-literary Greek of the New Testament it simply did not exist. εἰς meant *in* or *into* according to the context. It is one of the results of recent criticism to establish more and more firmly the fact that the New Testament, especially Mark, was written in non-literary Greek, though the later text-recensions consistently polished its roughness and removed its literary solecisms. This view also answers the critical difficulty and is worth consideration. There

is, however, a slight advantage in the former explanation, as it applies a little more easily to Mark xvi. 7.

It only remains to ask whether it is probable that there are any extant documents which embody this lost conclusion of Mark. This question can only be settled by comparing the other gospels with the reconstruction, based on information derived from Mark itself, which has just been indicated. Of extant documents, Luke and John, to the end of chapter xx., may be ruled out as only referring to appearances in Jerusalem or the neighbourhood, and the spurious conclusion of Mark is almost certainly a compilation based on the other gospels. There remain Matthew, John xxi., and the Gospel of Peter. All these have some superficial claim to represent the conclusion of Mark and have found support. But perhaps the most general, as well as the most probable opinion, is that, while all three represent the Galilean tradition, none can be proved to have made direct literary use of Mark. If any of them has, the Gospel of Peter is, I think, the most likely. It will therefore be best to postpone the consideration of this point to that of the other documents concerned, and to the general discussion of the Galilean tradition of the appearances of the risen Lord.

In any investigation, such as that which has just

been ended, there is always the danger of succumbing to the tyranny of details, and of not seeing the wood for the trees. It will therefore be advisable, even at the risk of illogical repetition, to summarise in a few lines at this point the general development of events which Mark has been seen to imply.

Before his betrayal, but when coming events were casting their shadow on his spirit, our Lord had foretold that the disciples would leave him. The event justified his prophecy. The presence of Judas with the soldiers was the signal for the flight of the disciples; either at once, or after a short interval of hiding,¹ they returned disheartened to Galilee to pick up, if they could, the broken threads of the life which they had once abandoned at the bidding of Jesus. Only a few women remained to the end, and watched the last moments of their Master from afar off. They did not watch long, for death came quickly, and the body was hurriedly buried, as they saw, by Joseph of Arimathæa—why, we are not told. The next day was the Sabbath, but on the following day the women tried to make up the deficiencies of the burial; but on going to the grave they were terrified by the appearance of a young man who told them

¹ As is shown on p. 162, the evidence of the Gospel of Peter, such as it is, points to an interval of hiding.

that their Master's body was not there, but that he was risen and would join his disciples in Galilee. They fled from the tomb, and told no one what had happened to them; for the disciples had gone, and they were afraid of the Jews. In Galilee the risen Lord was seen by Peter, and by the rest. Their courage and faith returned, and they came back to Jerusalem to tell their new confidence that their Master had been triumphant over death. With their return to Jerusalem a fresh period begins, and this, if not the return itself, was probably outside the scope of Mark; but we may at least say that it implied, even if it did not state, that when the women saw the disciples there was an immediate exchange of experiences.

Such seems to be the main purport of Mark, if one tries to form a reasonable view of its meaning, without being influenced by other accounts, or by dependent narratives. How far Mark can be trusted is of course a matter which can only be discussed after a similar investigation of the other accounts. But one may be allowed to emphasise at once the apparent absence of all mythological embroidery, and the simple, self-consistent character of the narrative. These points are not everything; but they at least mean that Mark is the evidence of a witness who comes into court with a good character for trustworthiness.

CHAPTER III

THE NON-MARCAN NARRATIVES IN MATTHEW AND LUKE; THE ACTS; THE SPURIOUS CONCLUSIONS OF MARK

BESIDES using Mark, it is practically certain that the redactors, both of Matthew and Luke, used another document¹ containing chiefly the teaching of Jesus. This document is, however, of little or no importance for the present purpose, as it is improbable that it contained any account of the Passion or Resurrection. But in addition to this, both Matthew and Luke show signs that their editors have made use of special traditions, either written or oral. In Matthew this tradition seems to have been derived from Jewish Christian sources, and in Luke there is some reason for tracing it ultimately (though perhaps indirectly) to Jerusalem. Further traces of the same tradition are perhaps to be found in the Fourth Gospel, though

¹ Formerly called the Logia, but now usually referred to as Q.

it was probably not known in a documentary form. These specially Matthean and Lucan narratives will be treated in this chapter; and, as the community of authorship of Luke and Acts is almost undisputed, those passages will also be dealt with in which the Acts supplies evidence as to the appearance of the risen Lord; and, finally, the spurious conclusions of Mark will be discussed.

I. *The Specially Matthean Details*

The details in the Matthean account of the Resurrection which are not directly derived from Mark are— (1) the resurrection of the saints at the moment of the Lord's death; (2) the watch at the grave; (3) the great angel at the tomb; (4) the appearance of the risen Lord to the women; (5) the appearance to the eleven disciples in Galilee.

(1) *The resurrection of the saints.*—Matt. xxvii. 52 relates the story of the rending of the veil of the temple at the moment of the Lord's death, and says that there was a great earthquake. It continues:—

And the tombs opened and many bodies of the saints who slept were raised, and after his resurrection came out of the tombs, and entered into the holy city and appeared to many.

The meaning of this short but marvellous statement is plain, and its value as a historical statement is not at

present under discussion. There is no other trace of the tradition in the New Testament, but it plays a great part in apocryphal literature, as will be seen in chapter v.

(2) *The watch at the grave.*—This story is found in Matt. xxvii. 62 ff. ; it runs as follows :—

Now on the morrow, which is the day after the Preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees were gathered together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest haply his disciples come and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead : and the last error will be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a guard : go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, the guard being with them. Now late on the Sabbath day . . . an angel of the Lord descended from heaven . . . and for fear of him the watchers did quake and became as dead men. . . . Some of the guard came into the city and told unto the chief priests all the things that were come to pass. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, Say ye, his disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and rid you of care. So they took the money, and did as they were taught : and this saying was spread abroad among the Jews and continueth unto this day.

The meaning of this story is thus that the Jews had heard rumours that Jesus had prophesied his Resurrection, and desired to have the tomb guarded until after

the third day, in order to prevent any attempt to manufacture evidence of the fulfilment of his prophecy by stealing the body. Pilate either said to them, "Take a guard" or "You have a guard"—the second translation is perhaps grammatically better, but the context is strongly in favour of the former. A guard was accordingly set, and witnessed the descent of the angel, but was bribed by the Jews to say that it had slept on its watch and that the disciples had come and taken the body away.

This story is also found in other documents, and its development must be traced later, when these have been discussed. Here it is only necessary to notice that it is combined in Matthew with the Marcan account and with the story of the descent of the great angel. It would seem that the redactor recognised that it was inconsistent with Mark, which he consequently altered, as has been pointed out on p. 61.

(3) *The great angel at the tomb*.—This story is found in Matthew xxviii. 2 ff. It runs as follows:—

And, behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it. His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the watchers quaked, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye, etc.

And the message of the young man of Mark to the women then follows. As is the case with the previous incident, the development of this story must be traced after other documents have been discussed in which it is also found. Here it is only necessary to notice that in Matthew the great angel replaces the young man of Mark, and that although it would seem that his purpose was to roll away the stone in order to permit the Resurrection, no description of the latter is given.

(4) *The appearance to the women.*—According to the Matthean redaction of Mark, as given in Matthew xxviii. 8,

The women departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to bring his disciples word.

This is a complete reversal of Mark's meaning, and is apparently intended to leave room for the following addition in xxviii. 9:—

And behold Jesus met them, saying, All hail! And they came and took hold of his feet and worshipped. Then saith Jesus unto them, Fear not; go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

This tradition is not found in any other early document, and it will be convenient to discuss it now, as it is only in appearance separate from Mark.

It has often been maintained that it can be traced back to the lost conclusion of Mark; but it is surely

plain that the wording of Mark really excludes it, and that the redactor of Matthew recognised this when he rewrote the Marcan narrative as to the conduct of the women. "They said nothing to anyone" cannot refer to a few minutes, and be intended merely to mean that they did not speak to passers-by as they went home. It is the description of their settled attitude to a closed episode, and the episode certainly could not have been regarded as closed had the writer meant it to lead up to an appearance of Jesus only momentarily later.

At the same time, the close coincidence of the words attributed to the risen Lord with the message of the young man points to a connexion with the Marcan narrative. The explanation is almost certainly to be found in the suggestion that this appearance of the Lord is a doublet of the appearance of the young man. It has already been seen that the identity of the young man is left entirely open in Mark. Two hypotheses naturally presented themselves: one, that the young man was an angel; the other, that he was the risen Lord himself. The former was adopted in Matthew, when the redactor identified the young man with the great angel of the Lord who rolled the stone away from the sepulchre. But it would seem that he was also acquainted with the alternative explanation. Therefore he followed his usual practice and inserted both

forms. The identity of the message remains to prove that it is really one incident which is thus recorded in two forms, and it is well known that the tendency to give doublets when two traditions existed as to one incident, though found in all the gospels, is especially characteristic of Matthew.¹ It is possible that the redactor was influenced in his choice by knowledge of a tradition of appearances at Jerusalem, but the view given above seems quite sufficient to account for the fact without any further complication. This incident has therefore no claim to be regarded as more than a secondary product of the Marcan tradition, with no historical value.

(5) *The appearance to the disciples in Galilee.*—This incident is described in Matt. xxviii. 16–20.

But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted. And Jesus came unto them and spake unto them, saying, All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

¹ In *Horæ Synopticae*, Sir John Hawkins gives twenty-one instances in Matthew, one in Mark, and ten in Luke. This is a conservative estimate, and many students would give more.

Textually this passage gives rise to a difficult problem in verse 19. The facts may be summarised as follows. The text as given above is found in all MSS. and versions; but Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his frequent quotations of this verse, frequently, if not always, used a text giving it in the form, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations in my name"—omitting all reference to baptism. The obvious suggestion is that this form was found in MSS. known to Eusebius, though no longer extant. Possibly Hermas (c. 140 A.D.), and probably Justin Martyr, show acquaintance with the same form. These facts were first pointed out by Mr Conybeare, and no other explanation has been offered, except that Eusebius may have concealed his knowledge of the ordinary text under the influence of the *Disciplina arcani*, which forbade Christian mysteries to be made known to the heathen. This is an unsatisfactory suggestion, for Eusebius shows no sign of special respect for the *Disciplina arcani*, and there is no reason why he should have been silent on the baptismal formula in commentaries on scripture, which were surely intended for the initiated. Thus it is probable that Eusebius used MSS. which omitted the command to baptise, and it is a question whether this is not really the original text of Matthew, and the command to

baptise a later interpolation, due to the influence of ecclesiastical custom. A decision on this point must depend largely on considerations which cannot be fully discussed here. The main argument in favour of the usual text is the alleged improbability that all existing MSS. and versions should agree in a wrong reading; but against this may be set the view of many students of the text that no existing MSS. or versions do more than represent comparatively late recensions; the probability that baptismal use undoubtedly very early influenced the text; and the improbability, in view of the great importance attached to baptism, that such a form as the Eusebian text of Matt. xxviii. 19 could ever have been evolved out of the ordinary text. Moreover, those who ascribe an early date to Matthew ought naturally to be inclined to prefer the Eusebian text, for they are then relieved from the well-known difficulty caused by the fact that in the Acts baptism is always in the name of Christ (or a similar expression), and never in the Trinitarian formula. The balance of argument seems to be in favour of the Eusebian text.

It has often been maintained that this incident is based on the lost conclusion of Mark, which it may thus be taken to represent. The arguments in favour of this are in reality two. In the first place, up to

this point Matthew has followed Mark fairly closely, though with alterations intended to explain his source, and to make room for other documents or traditions. There is therefore an *a priori* presumption that in the following passage the redactor would have made use of Mark had it been known to him. In the second place, this passage narrates an appearance of the risen Lord in Galilee, such as it is reasonable to suppose was found in Mark. But against these arguments three objections, of which two are serious, can be alleged. First, the emphasis laid upon Peter in Mark xvi. 7 suggests that the narrative was leading up either to an appearance to him separately, or to one in which he played an important part. Of this there is no trace in Matthew. Secondly, Matthew implies quite a different view of the course of events from Mark. The latter represents the disciples as scattered and returning to Galilee in despair. The former makes them go in a body to Galilee, in consequence of the message of the women, in order to see the Lord. Thirdly, the general character of the narrative is later in tone than Mark. This last objection is in any case too subjective to be important, and the adoption of the Eusebian text in verse 19 deprives it of part of its force; but the two others are very weighty, and suggest that the redactor of Matthew,

though acquainted with the tradition of an appearance of the Lord in Galilee, was not using Mark, perhaps because Mark, when it came into his hands, was already mutilated. Thus this section may be regarded as one of the pieces of evidence which have to be considered in any attempt to discuss or to reconstruct the Galilean tradition as to the appearances of the risen Lord, but cannot be regarded as adequately representing the lost conclusion of Mark.

The interpretation of the passage as it stands only gives rise to one serious difficulty. What is the meaning of "the mountain where Jesus had appointed them"? It is uncertain whether this should be taken as "had appointed as a meeting place," or "had appointed them as apostles"; but the former is the more probable. The most popular guesses at the identification of the mountain connect it with either the Mount of Transfiguration or with the Mount of the Sermon on the Mount. But there is no evidence for any of these suggestions, and it is more probable that "the mountain" ($\tauὸ ὄρος$) means not "the particular mountain," but "the mountain district of Galilee," and the reference is merely to the message of the women.

II. *The Specially Lucan Narrative*

Up to the account of the experience of the women at the tomb, Luke follows Mark. Various alterations are indeed made, but the literary dependence can scarcely be doubted. After that point, either the changes introduced into the Marcan narrative are so great that either literary dependence can no longer be proved, or a new tradition (written or oral) is being followed. The balance of probability is perhaps not decisively in favour of the latter alternative, but it is safer, at least for the present purpose, to adopt it. The narrative may be divided into (1) the experience of the women at the tomb; (2) the message of the two men to the women; (3) the conduct of the women and of the disciples; (4) the appearance on the road to Emmaus; (5) the appearance to the general body of disciples; (6) the speech of the Lord to the disciples; (7) the Ascension.

(1) *The experience of the women at the tomb.*—The account of this incident is given in Luke xxiv. 3 f.

But when they entered in, they found not the body; and it came to pass while they were perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazzling apparel; and as they were affrighted, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them—

Many early authorities add the words “of the Lord Jesus” as a definition of “the body.” Perhaps this is

the original text, though it seems more probable that it is an explanatory addition ; but in any case it makes no difference to the sense.

As was pointed out in dealing with the Marcan narrative, this incident might well be merely a paraphrastic amplification of Mark, if it were not for the mention of the "two men" in place of "the young man." This seems to point to the probability that another tradition than Mark is being followed, and, if so, the examination of the tomb implied by the words "they did not find" may also be due to this source.

There is no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the passage, which presents no ambiguities. According to it the women entered the tomb and looked for the body, and while they were doing this two men, obviously intended to be supernatural beings, came and spoke to them. The value of this record, and its ultimate relation to the Marcan tradition, is of course another matter ; but its meaning is quite plain.

(2) *The message of the two men.*—This is given in Luke xxiv. 5.

Why seek ye the living among the dead? Remember how he spake unto you while he was yet in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

Many ancient authorities for the text add the words, "He is not here but is risen," immediately after the introductory question. Probably, however, they are an early addition from Mark or Matthew; but for the present purpose the point is unimportant, as the words do not add anything to the meaning of the passage.

It has been thought that this is merely a rewriting of the Marcan account, in order to make room for a tradition recording appearances in or near Jerusalem, but not in Galilee. It may be so; and in this case perhaps the addition to the text referred to above must be regarded as genuine. But the difference from Mark is so great that it is possible to think that another tradition has been preferred and followed.

In the explanation of the passage, which is otherwise quite simple, some difficulty is caused by the attempt to identify the prophecy in Galilee. It is natural to look for this in Luke, and reference may be made to three passages. (a) Luke ix. 22—

The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and the third day be raised up.

(b) Luke ix. 44—

The Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men.

(c) Luke xviii. 31 ff.—

Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all the things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished unto the Son of man. For he shall be delivered up unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and shamefully treated, and spit upon: and they shall scourge and kill him: and the third day he shall rise again.

Of these three passages the last seems to be excluded by the fact that it was not spoken in Galilee, and the second, though it alone contains the phrase "shall be delivered into the hands of men," seems equally improbable, as it contains no allusion to the Resurrection. Thus the first alone remains, and it is curious that, according to Luke, this was spoken in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, and thus possibly, though not certainly, in Galilee; but according to Mark, which is here the source of Luke, in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi in Ituræa. This gives some support to the view that the form of the message is Lucan, and that the reference to Galilee is due to a knowledge of Mark, and to a consequent wish to present a message leading up to an appearance in Jerusalem, in a form which by mentioning Galilee explained and corrected the Marcan statement that the women were told that the disciples would see the Lord in Galilee.

(3) *The conduct of the women and of the disciples.*
—The description of the result of the message is

wholly different from that in Mark. Luke xxiv. 8-11 says:—

2 And they remembered his words, and returned, and told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James; and the other women that were with them, told these things unto the apostles. And these words seemed to them as idle tales, and they disbelieved them.

3 A serious textual problem is raised by the following verse—

But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb; and stooping down and looking in, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed to his home, wondering at that which was come to pass—

which has been omitted above from the end of this section. This is probably an interpolation from the tradition which lies behind John xx. 6. Westcott and Hort regarded it as a “western non-interpolation,” and even without accepting the textual theory which that phrase implies, it is difficult to see how the addition can be defended. It is more or less Lucan in style, but it should be noted that although Luke often uses “arose” (*ἀναστὰς*), he always makes it precede the name of the person referred to, instead of following it, as in the present case. At the same time, the point is not quite certain, and it is possible that the verse should be added.

So far as the meaning of the passage is concerned, it presents no difficulty. The women delivered the message to the disciples, who had not left Jerusalem and apparently did not intend to do so. If verse 12 be accepted, St Peter had, according to the most probable translation, got a house in Jerusalem. But the disciples did not believe the news; not even (if verse 12 be followed) though St Peter went to the tomb and saw that it seemed to be empty.

(4) *The appearance on the road to Emmaus.*—The account of this, according to Luke the first appearance of the risen Lord, is given in Luke xxiv. 13-35.

And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem three-score furlongs. And they talked together of these things which had happened. And it came to pass, that, while they talked together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk? And they stood still looking sorrowful. And one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering said unto him, Art thou only a sojourner in Jerusalem, and dost not know the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we had hoped that it had been he which

should redeem Israel: yea, and beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done. Moreover, certain women of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not. And he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go further. But they constrained him, saying, Tarry with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took the bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, while he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in the breaking of bread.

Among many interesting textual variations in this passage there are three which are important for the meaning. (a) In verse 13 some good authorities read

160 instead of 60 furlongs; but the evidence is in itself insufficient, and the reading is almost certainly due to an attempt to make the distance given correspond better with the facts on the probably erroneous view that the best known Emmaus is intended. (b) In the same verse some early Latin authorities take Emmaus as the name of one of the disciples, and read "by name Cleopas and Emmaus." The addition of the name Cleopas is no doubt a gloss from verse 18, but the reading as a whole implies the Greek text found in Codex Bezae, in which it is ambiguous whether the word translated "called" refers to the disciples or to the village (reading *ονόματι* instead of *ἡ ὄνομα*). This is an interesting reading, as it explains the tradition found in St Ambrose that the companion of Cleopas was called Amon, but there is no real doubt that the ordinary text is right. (c) In verse 34 the Latin and Syriac translations of the participle "saying" leave it ambiguous who the speakers were, who said, "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon." If it be in the nominative, it must refer to Cleopas and the unnamed disciple; if in the accusative, it refers to the eleven. The Greek MSS. as a rule read the latter (*λέγοντας*); but Codex Bezae has the nominative (*λέγοντες*), and this reading seems to be implied by Origen, who frequently states that the companion of

Cleopas was Simon. This reading has therefore quite good authority, especially as it may be represented both by Latin and Syriac MSS. It is, however, a question which is probably insoluble whether the reading in the nominative (λέγοντες) produced the tradition as to Simon, or the tradition produced the reading: whichever came first would inevitably give rise to the other.

Turning to the interpretation of the story, three points give rise to difficulty in an otherwise straightforward narrative. These are, the locality of Emmaus, the names of the disciples, and the reference to an appearance to Simon.

The earliest tradition as to Emmaus is found in Eusebius. He identifies Emmaus with the city of that name on the road to Joppa, which was known at a later time as Nicopolis; but this gives a distance which would reduce the narrative to an absurdity by implying a distance of about forty miles, and is also improbable owing to the description of Emmaus as a village, for Emmaus-Nicopolis was a fairly large and well-known town. It is far more probable that another Emmaus (or Ammaus) is intended, which Josephus mentions in *B.J.*, vii. 6. 6. He says that this was thirty furlongs from Jerusalem, and had been given by Vespasian to a band of soldiers. It is almost certainly to be identified with the modern village of Kuloniyeh, thirty-four

furlongs from Jerusalem, which seems to preserve in its name the Arabic transliteration of the Latin *Colonia*. The only difficulty of this identification is that Luke says that it was sixty furlongs distant. This may be merely inaccuracy, or an attempt to give the length of the walk there and back. It should be noted that some MSS. of Josephus also give sixty furlongs, but this is probably due to assimilation to Luke. This identification of Emmaus is much the most probable, though in view of the discrepancy as to the distance it is not absolutely certain. A fuller discussion, dealing also with other suggestions, can be found in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. According to this view the walk of the two disciples was a short two hours out and the same back—rather a long walk, but nothing improbable.

The names of the disciples is a more difficult question, though it admits of less discussion. The earliest tradition is that of Origen, who identified the other disciple with Simon. This probably implies the reading λέγοντες, which has just been discussed and is possibly right. Whether Simon means Simon Peter or Simon the Cananæan is of course another point. In St Ambrose the tradition is found that a certain Amon was with Cleopas, but this tradition is certainly based on the erroneous reading of the Latin MSS. mentioned

above, which takes Emmaus as the name of a man. A still later tradition found in Epiphanius identifies the unnamed disciple with Nathanael, but for what reason does not appear. The evidence for the earlier traditions is conveniently set out in Dr A. Resch's *Aussercanonische Paralleltexzte zu Lucas*.

The reference to an appearance to Simon is a most difficult problem, which depends on so many subsidiary questions that it cannot be solved with any certainty.

Following the text of Westcott and Hort, which omits the visit of Peter to the grave and reads λέγοντας in verse 34, the only possible view is that reference is made to an appearance to Simon (whether Simon Peter or another remains uncertain) which is not recorded in Luke. Those commentators who take this view generally identify this appearance with that to Cephas referred to in 1 Cor. xv. 5. But is it really credible that St Luke, probably the most literary of the evangelists, would have left this disconnected reference to an event which is not described in the gospel?

Yet if a different solution be looked for, it is not easy to find one. It is possible to turn to textual emendation, but no quite satisfactory suggestion is forthcoming. If Luke xxiv. 12 were genuine it would be possible to think that the meaning is that in the light of the experience of Cleopas the disciples saw that St Peter's

visit to the grave was the equivalent of an appearance. But this is extremely harsh, and textual probability is against the genuineness of the passage. A preferable alternative is to read *λέγοντες* in verse 34, thus identifying Simon with one of the two disciples, for though the evidence for this reading is small its quality is good. In this case the reference to the eleven must be loosely interpreted in the sense the "rest of the eleven," rather than strictly numerically, since, in the absence of Simon, one of their number, the eleven could not have been gathered together.

A counsel of despair would be to regard the words "and has appeared to Simon" as an addition to the original text under the influence of 1 Cor. xv. 5.

A more subtle but quite important suggestion is of a different kind. It is possible that this incident in Luke is a misunderstood and half-forgotten reminiscence of the first meeting between Christians who had fled to Galilee, and there seen the risen Lord, and others who, remaining in Jerusalem, had had the same experience. This suggestion has much in its favour; but the objection to it is that it implies Luke's knowledge of the Galilean tradition, his suppression not merely of its connexion with Galilee, but even of the appearance to St Peter which it contained, and nevertheless his betrayal of these facts by a single unnecessary phrase.

If he had suppressed the Galilean tradition so far, surely he would have gone a little further. Personally I find the suggestion so difficult to reconcile with the general manner in which he generally uses his sources, that, though I am inclined to accept the suggestion as to the historical genesis of the phrase, I would nevertheless have the courage of despair and think that St Luke himself did not write it. It was added to the text almost at once by someone who knew that some such phrase had been the greeting which the returning Galileans gave to their friends at Jerusalem, but did not perceive that it was inconsistent with the rest of the narrative in Luke.

With the exception of these points the story is plain. Two members of the Jerusalem community went out to Emmaus on the third day after the Crucifixion, knowing, but unconvinced by, the story of the women. On the road they met a stranger who joined in their evening meal at Emmaus. During the meal he took bread and blessed it and gave it to them; they recognised that he was the Lord, but he vanished. They then returned to Jerusalem, and reported their experience. Whether this story has claims to be regarded as history is a different question, but at least its meaning is plain.

(5) *The appearance to the assembled disciples in*

Jerusalem.—This incident is narrated in Luke xxiv. 36-43.

And as they thus spake, he himself stood in the midst of them. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and wherefore do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have. And while they yet disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here anything to eat? And they gave him a piece of a dried fish. And he took it, and did eat before them.

There are many variants in the text, but the only one of any importance is the addition or omission of "and saith unto them, Peace be unto you" in verse 36, and of "and when he had said this, he showed them his hands and his feet" in verse 40. These are two more of the so-called "western non-interpolations" alluded to on p. 95, and probably ought to be omitted from the text of Luke; but the point may be left open for the present purpose, as the sense of the two passages is clearly implied in the context.

So far as the meaning of the passage is concerned, there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is a clear statement of the material character of the body of the risen Lord, and its identity with the body which was crucified. This is proved by the attention which is drawn to the hands and feet, and by the partaking of

food with the disciples. It is not expressly stated that the coming of the Lord was not an entry into the room in the ordinary manner, but the fear of the disciples seems to imply that it was rather a sudden appearance in a supernatural manner.

(6) *The speech of the Lord.*—According to Luke xxiv. 44-49, the risen Lord gave the following address to the assembled :—

And he said unto them, These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise from the dead the third day : and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning at Jerusalem. Ye are witnesses of these things. And, behold, I am sending forth the promise of my Father upon you : but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high.

There are here no textual points of importance, and, except in one point, the meaning of the speech is plain. It recognises Jerusalem as the centre of the Christian community, gives a commission to preach to all nations "in the name" of Christ, and a command to remain in Jerusalem until they receive power from on high. This is all quite plain, but the statement, "I am

sending forth the promise of my Father," is not so easy. No doubt the present tense has here the force of a future, but what was the promise referred to? One would expect a reference to something in the gospel. If so, it must be the prophecy of John the Baptist, "He shall baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." Otherwise it must be thought that the reference is to various passages in the Old Testament, which promised the gift of the Spirit. A comparison with Acts seems to justify the former view (cf. p. 113).

(7) *The Ascension*.—It is doubtful whether this title is justified by the gospel, which in the most probable text (xxiv. 50-53) runs as follows:—

And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them. And they returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, blessing God.

As it stands, two points are plain in this account: first, that it is a direct continuation of the previous account; secondly, that it was intended to describe a final separation between the Lord and the disciples. But that this separation was effected by means of an ascension depends on the text. As given above, there is no trace of this view, but many authorities add "and was carried up into heaven, and they worshipped him"

after "he parted from them." Westcott and Hort were undoubtedly right in regarding these words as a "western non-interpolation," and their removal forces us to say that the gospel describes a last separation of the risen Lord from the disciples, but does not define this as an ascension into heaven.

Thus the Lucan account, after it diverges from Mark, is concerned exclusively with Jerusalem and with the events of the third day after the Crucifixion. According to it the disciples never left Jerusalem, and the command of the risen Lord was that they should not do so. It describes an appearance of "two men" to certain women who went to the tomb early on Sunday morning. These men announced the Resurrection, and were believed by the women, who, however, failed to convince the disciples. Later on in the same day two disciples who had been going to Emmaus saw the risen Lord, and at once returned to Jerusalem to tell the others. It is possible, but, according to the foregoing discussion, not probable, that an intermediate appearance to St Peter is implied, though not described. While the two disciples were narrating their experiences, the Lord appeared, delivered a last address to the disciples, led them out to Bethany, blessed them, and finally departed from their sight. It is remarkable that both in this account and in that of the appearance

on the road to Emmaus emphasis is laid on the fulfilment of prophecy by the Lord, and on the fact that he partook of food. It is also plain that the incidents are intended to follow one another without a break. It is indeed sometimes said that there may be a break in the continuity at verse 44, for it is not expressly stated that the words "and he said to them" were spoken on the same day; but this is an impossible interpretation. The obvious intention of the writer is to continue the narrative, and he does so with a phrase so characteristic of Luke (*εἶπεν δὲ*) that it is found fifty-nine times in Luke, fifteen times in Acts, and only once more in the rest of the New Testament. It will be found by any who care to look up these places that the phrase nearly always must indicate the continuation of a narrative, and never necessarily does the contrary. Therefore the evidence of style corroborates the general impression given by the narrative, and it may be taken as indisputable that Luke is intended to give a continuous series of events, beginning with the dawn of the third day, with no intervals between them.

One is then forced to inquire whether this account is physically conceivable, and many critics have answered this question in the negative. The difficulty is that in verse 29 we are told "the day is far spent." If that

really means just before sunset, it is impossible to find room for the other events before darkness. But it might possibly mean no later than three hours before sunset. The walk from Emmaus to Jerusalem (four miles) could be done by men in a hurry in forty minutes, and it would then be possible to find room for the other events before nightfall. Thus, though undoubtedly difficult, the Lucan narrative of the events on the first day of the week does not seem to be so inconceivable as is sometimes stated. There is nothing in its statements as to time or place which makes it impossible that St Luke meant to give a continuous narrative, or condemns the story in itself. It is of course a contradiction of Mark, but the choice between the two narratives must be made in another chapter.

III. *The Narrative in the Acts*

The Acts, like Luke, is probably a composite work, compiled, as is stated in the preface to the gospel, from various sources of information. But for the present purpose it is unnecessary to do more in the distinction of sources than to recognise the probability that there are two main divisions. In the first place, in the opening chapters of the Acts, which record the history of the Church at Jerusalem, there is a narrative closely connected with the so-called "Jerusalem tradition" in

the gospel; and, in the second place, the latter half of Acts is connected with St Paul, and at least partly based on a "travel document" representing St Luke's own experiences as a companion of St Paul.

Naturally, in neither part is there an actual narrative of the Resurrection; but in the former there is an account of the last appearance and ascension of the Lord; and either in or connected with the second part are accounts of appearances of the Lord to St Stephen and to St Paul.

(1) *The Ascension*.—In connection with the end of Luke come the opening paragraphs (i. 1-14) of the Acts. These run as follows:—

The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Spirit had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen: to whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing to them during forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God: and, being assembled together with them, commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye heard of me, for John baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence. When they therefore were come together, they asked him, saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath appointed by his own power. But ye shall receive power, when the

Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And when he had said these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; who said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this Jesus, which was taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olives, which is near Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey distant. And when they were come in, they went up into the upper room, where abode both Peter, and John, and James, and Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James the son of Alphæus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas the son of James. These all continued with one accord in prayer with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

The text of this passage is full of variants, the discussion of which, though full of importance for textual criticism, would be out of place here; it should, however, be noted that the general effect of their study is not to suggest that one form of text is demonstrably better or worse than another. The future may possibly produce a far sounder text. At present all that can be said, is that the ordinary Greek text represented above seems to have been in use at Alexandria in the third century, and perhaps elsewhere. But there is convinc-

ing evidence that in other places, both in the second and third centuries, texts (one cannot speak of a text) were in use which differed considerably from this: we have, however, very imperfect knowledge of their readings. Thus one ought not to put too much weight on any theory which would be liable to be destroyed by a small variation in the text. At least two such variations are noteworthy: (a) The omission of the words "was taken up" (*ἀνελήμφθη*) in verse 2. This is directly attested by some good Latin authorities, and indirectly by a lack of agreement among the witnesses as to the exact place in the sentence in which it should be inserted. It is, however, far more clear how the sentence should run if the omission be made. St Augustine, for instance, using an Old African text, also omitted "whom" after "apostles," and reads, "about all things which Jesus began to do and to teach on the day on which he chose his apostles by the Holy Spirit, and commanded them to preach the gospel." (b) There is some slight evidence, collected by Blass in his *Editio minor* of the Acts in the so-called "Roman" text, which points to the possibility of the omission of "by the space of forty days."

The meaning of the passage as a whole would offer no difficulty if it were not for the necessity of comparing it with Luke. It seems plain that it is intended to give a more extended account of the last address and

parting from the disciples. Verse 4 clearly corresponds to Luke xxiv. 49, and the reference to the baptism of John is the interpretation of "the promise of the Father." In the same way the account of the Ascension may be naturally regarded as an expansion of the expression "he parted from them" in Luke xxiv. 51. But any further comparison leads to difficulties. If the text of Acts be correct, the Ascension took place forty days after the Resurrection; but according to Luke on the evening of the Resurrection. Again, according to the text given above, the gospel is stated to have contained an account of the Ascension; but according to the most probable text of Luke this is not the case.

Of these two difficulties the second is much the less important. "Was taken up" in Acts may quite well be a somewhat inaccurate reference to the "was parted from them" of the gospel. The former difficulty is much more serious. There is an irreconcilable contradiction between Acts and Luke. Two explanations are possible: (a) The words "forty days" in Acts may be an interpolation in the text. As has been said, there is some evidence for this view, but this is not the foundation for the suggestion, which is more of the nature of a conjectural emendation. The important facts are not the possibly accidental omission of the words by a single writer, but, first, the improb-

bility of so direct a contradiction between Luke and Acts, and, secondly, the evidence of the Epistle of Barnabas, and of the old Syriac calendar, which regard the Ascension as having taken place on a Sunday, whereas the fortieth day after the Resurrection must have been a Thursday. (b) It is possible that, in the interval between writing the gospel and the Acts, St Luke became acquainted with a more detailed tradition which he preferred and used in the Acts. On the whole this is the more probable view, as the account in Acts is so much more elaborate than in the gospel, and it is improbable that St Luke would have omitted the appearance of the two men and the prophecy of the second coming had he known of them when writing the gospel.

Putting aside these two difficulties, the following points are important: (a) An obvious emphasis is laid on Jerusalem, Judæa, Samaria, and the rest of the world as divisions of missionary work; and this emphasis seems to find its explanation in the way in which in the rest of Acts the development of the Church is traced through these four divisions. (b) The fact that the gift of the Spirit had not yet been made is much more emphasised than it is in the gospel. This naturally leads up to the account of the Day of Pentecost; and it may fairly be suggested that it points to the existence

of some view which St Luke was implicitly combating. (c) It is natural to identify the "two men" who appeared to the disciples and foretold the second coming with the "two men" who appeared to the women at the grave.

Did St Luke obtain this tradition, found in Luke and Acts, from a written source? Such a question can, from the nature of the case, only be answered with diffidence. The only evidence is that of style. If we accept the overwhelmingly probable view that the *we*-clauses in Acts were written by St Luke, we have in them some fair indication of his style, and it is possible to trace the same style in the alterations made by him in his use of Mark. Now, if one goes through the last verses of Luke and examines them for the evidence of Lucan style, one finds hardly a single verse which is free from some such indication. This points strongly to the conclusion that St Luke is certainly not using a written *Greek* source; it is just conceivable that he is using an Aramaic source, and giving a very free translation; but the most probable view is that he is relating oral tradition. The same conclusion holds good, and for the same reasons, for the beginning of Acts, but not to quite the same extent. The evidence of style, though pointing in the same direction, is not quite so marked. Personally, I think that the balance of probability, at

least for chapter i. of the Acts, is somewhat strongly in favour of oral tradition, rather than a written source, but Harnack is apparently inclined to pay considerable attention to the suggestion of an Aramaic source.

(2) *The appearance to the dying St Stephen.*—This appearance is recorded in Acts vii. 55–59.

But he, being full of the Holy Spirit, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God. But they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. And they stoned Stephen, calling upon the Lord, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

This account differs from the previous ones in Luke and Acts in that it represents a vision of heaven rather than an appearance on earth. But it does not otherwise offer any problems. The significant allusion at the end of the narrative to the young man named Saul points to the probability that St Luke obtained his knowledge of the incident from St Paul.

(3) *The appearance of the risen Lord to St Paul.*—St Paul claims in 1 Cor. xv. to have seen the Lord himself. There is no account of this appearance extant in the epistles, but in the Acts accounts are given in three places: in Acts ix. 1–9 (in the story of the

conversion of St Paul); in Acts xxii. 6-10 (in St Paul's defence before the Jews in Jerusalem); and in Acts xxvi. 12-18 (in his defence before Herod Agrippa). These three accounts run thus:—

ACTS ix. 1-9.

And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and asked of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of the Way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, it came to pass that he drew near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Sir? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: but rise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And

ACTS xxii. 6-10.

And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and drew nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Sir? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. And they that were with me saw indeed the light; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. And when I could not

ACTS xxvi. 12-18.

Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me, in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad. And I said, Who art thou, Sir? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those

the men that journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing the voice, but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw nothing: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus.

see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus.

things in the which I will appear unto thee: delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

It will be seen that, though there can be no doubt that the same incident is described, there is considerable variation in the details of these three accounts. According to the first account, for instance, St Paul's companions stood; according to the third they fell; according to the first they heard a voice, but saw no one; according to the second they saw a light, but heard nothing. Some critics have made use of these variations to prove that St Luke is employing different sources; but it is much more likely that they are due to careless writing, such as could be paralleled in the work of many authors. For those who, with Harnack and many others, think that St Luke, companion of St Paul, compiled the Acts, and like most historians of his day illustrated his narrative at the proper points by ap-

appropriate speeches placed in the mouths of various personages, there is no difficulty in believing that these three accounts represent information which St Luke obtained from St Paul. As to the exact details there may be room for doubt; but it is really of very little importance whether St Paul's companions stood up or fell down. What is really important is also indisputable (unless by a general attack on the Lucan authorship of the second part of Acts)—that St Luke believed that the risen Lord appeared and spoke to St Paul on the road to Damascus. It is also clear that his description does not imply, but rather excludes, an appearance of a material nature. It is not even stated that St Paul's conviction that he was speaking to Jesus was based on sight. It is here that the main difference lies between the appearances to St Stephen and St Paul, and the earlier appearances narrated in Luke and Acts. According to Luke, the earlier appearances were those of a person with a body of flesh and blood, while the later ones were of an immaterial nature. St Luke unquestionably intended the Ascension to mark the dividing line between the two kinds of appearances. His view was that the Lord appeared in material form until the Ascension, and was then taken up into heaven in that form in which he would come again to judge the world. The appearances after this moment were

of a different kind and not in a material body. The really important question, which will have to be faced in a later chapter, is how far the evidence, especially of St Paul, confirms or contradicts this theory of St Luke.

IV. *The Spurious Conclusions of Mark*

Of these there are two. The shorter is only found in a few Alexandrian Greek MSS., and in one MS. of the African version of the Old Latin translation. It runs as follows:—

But they (*i.e.* the women) briefly reported all that was commanded to those in the company of Peter; and after this Jesus himself appeared unto them (*i.e.* the disciples) and sent out to them the holy and imperishable message of eternal salvation, from the east and unto the west.

Whatever the exact origin of this statement may be (Professor von Dobschütz thinks that it is an extract from the so-called Preaching of Peter), it is clearly an addition made to the already mutilated gospel by someone who noticed the harshness of the conclusion, and tried to repudiate the suggestion of the silence of the women. For the purpose of the present discussion it has no value.

The longer conclusion runs as follows:—

Now when he was risen early the first day of the week,

he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils. She went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept. And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, disbelieved. And after this he was manifested in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went into the country. And they went and told it unto the rest: neither believed they them. And afterward he was manifested unto the eleven themselves as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with Tongues: they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. So then the Lord, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.

The origin of this passage is unknown. It is no longer seriously disputed that it is not an original part of the gospel, for it does not appear in the oldest Latin, Syriac, or Egyptian versions, or in the oldest Greek MSS., which, however, seem to betray a knowledge of its existence, and reject rather than omit it, and the internal evidence of style is also entirely unfavour-

able to it. In one MS. of the Armenian version it is connected with the name of Aristion (Ariston) the elder, possibly the contemporary of the "elder John" of whom Papias speaks. It is impossible to say in what district it was added, but there is perhaps rather more to be said for the neighbourhood of Ephesus than for anywhere else, and Harnack is inclined to think that it was there deliberately substituted for the genuine conclusion. The strongest argument for this view depends on the suggestion that the incomplete condition of Mark is due to design and not to accident, and that in this case it is improbable that anyone would have been content with cutting off the original conclusion without supplying a substitute. It must also be noted that the connexion of these verses with the previous is so poor that they do not seem to have been written for its present place. It is more likely that it was taken bodily from some other document. This remains true, whether we think that the mutilation of Mark is due to accident or design; and it is thus a tempting conjecture that the Armenian MS. mentioned above preserves a correct tradition, and that the "longer conclusion" was taken from the "Narratives" of Aristion, of which Papias speaks (though it is true that he nowhere states that he knew them in a written form), to supply the lacuna

made by the loss or abstraction of the genuine conclusion.

Regarded as a source of information for historical research, the "longer conclusion" is scarcely more valuable than the shorter. It is either based on the Third and Fourth Gospels, or represents the same tradition in a shorter and apparently inferior form. A comparison of the details is sufficient to prove this point, and can be shown most plainly in the following tabular form :—

Mark xvi. 9 =John xx. 14–17 (Appearance to Mary Magdalene).

Mark xvi. 10 =John xx. 18 (Report to the disciples).

Mark xvi. 12 f. =Luke xxiv. 13–35 (The appearance on the road to Emmaus).

Mark xvi. 14 ff. =Luke xxiv. 36–47 (The appearance to the eleven).

Mark xvi. 19 =Luke xxiv. 51, or Acts i. 2 (The Ascension).

There is between these passages no sufficient similarity to prove literary dependence, but it can scarcely be doubted that the traditions are the same. The few points in which Mark differs are unimportant, and it is clearly unnecessary to pay any further attention to

this document for the purposes of an inquiry into the historical evidence for the facts of the Resurrection, though it is important for the history of the text of the New Testament, and to some extent for the history of the development of Christian doctrine.

CHAPTER IV

THE NARRATIVE OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE origin of the Fourth Gospel is still a problem which remains unsolved. The traditional view is that it was written in Ephesus, by St John the son of Zebedee, in order to elucidate points which remained doubtful in the other gospels. The external evidence is not sufficient either to prove or to condemn this tradition: that is to say, it is so good that it in no way impugns it, but is not so strong as to demonstrate it. On the other hand, the internal evidence, though of a curiously conflicting character, is on the whole decidedly hostile to the traditional view. It is of course impossible here to discuss this point at length; it must suffice to express the opinion that the most probable view is something of the kind adopted recently by Professor Burkitt, that the gospel was written by someone acquainted with traditions derived from Jerusalem, who had in the

narrative an interest dogmatic rather than historical, and desired to bring the figure of the Christ into relation with a particular form of philosophy. It is also desirable to note that the peculiar dogmatic controversy in which the writer was engaged forced him to lay stress on everything which emphasised the unity of Jesus with the Christ, and on the reality of his humanity both before and after the Resurrection. This point can be observed in the gospel, but is still plainer in the epistles, which in all probability were written by the same person, and in any case by someone of the same school of thought. If this or any similar view be adopted, the question of authorship becomes less important, and may for the present purpose be left undiscussed.¹

A somewhat peculiar problem is raised by the last chapter of the gospel. The book seems to be brought to an end by the last verse of chapter xx., which says:—

“Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book, but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the

¹ If the following investigation be correct, the historical value of the Johannine account of the Resurrection is not great. But whether this is a decisive argument against any particular theory as to its authorship, turns on the question of the nature of the accuracy which we ought to expect from writers of that generation. This is precisely the question which is most difficult to answer, though critics of all schools have been dangerously ready to assume a solution.

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Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his name."

A more definite conclusion could not be imagined, Moreover, any further investigations into the contents of the book reveal a remarkable symmetry in arrangement which leads up to chapter xx. and demands nothing more. Thus it is generally admitted that chapter xxi. is an appendix and not part of the original scheme of the gospel, but with that admission agreement ceases. Some critics regard the chapter as an appendix written by the author of the rest of the gospel; others think that it is the composition of another writer. The strongest argument for the former hypothesis is the style, which certainly has a close resemblance to that of the rest of the gospel. At the same time, there are also points of difference, and this argument is not quite decisive against the possibility that the chapter was written by someone who made a by no means unsuccessful attempt to imitate the style of the gospel. On the other hand, the second hypothesis is supported by the contents. "The disciples," says Dr Moffatt, in his *Historical New Testament*, "are mentioned with quite a unique definiteness (the sons of Zebedee, Peter as a fisherman): the miracle attaches itself rather to the synoptic tradition, the Fourth Gospel having its own cycle of seven signs. The appearance of Jesus in

Galilee contrasts strangely with chapter xx., which is unconscious of any appearances save those in Jerusalem." These arguments are not singly convincing, but their weight is cumulative, and, taken together, they make up a strong case; but perhaps the most decisive word has been spoken by M. Loisy, who says: "The majority of critics are right in thinking that the writer who had balanced his account of the Resurrection with such artistic attention to details, who had crowned the teaching of his book with the confession of Thomas, and had taken leave of his readers at the end of chapter xx., has not himself destroyed the harmony of his work by the addition of a badly-fitted appendix which breathes a different spirit from all the rest." Thus the balance of evidence seems to be decidedly in favour of the view that chapter xxi. is an addition to the gospel, and that it was not made by the original writer. If so (and indeed even if it be made by the original writer) there can be hardly any doubt as to the motive of the addition: it was inspired by the knowledge of a tradition as to appearances of the Lord in Galilee. The further importance of this point will, however, be more suitably treated later on, when considering the contents of the chapter.

The part of the gospel which is important for the

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present purpose may be divided into four sections: (1) the burial; (2) the events at the tomb; (3) the appearances at Jerusalem; (4) the appearances in Galilee.

(1) *The burial.*—The account of this is given in John xix. 31-42, and runs as follows:—

The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day (for that sabbath day was an high day), besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs: but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that hath seen it bare witness, and his witness is true; and that one knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe. For these things were done, that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced.

And after this Joseph of Arimathæa, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took his body. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. So they took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the

garden a new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' Preparation; for the tomb was nigh at hand.

According to this, two attempts were made to bury the Lord's body. The first was made by the Jews, and was based on the requirements of the law. The reference is not quite plain, but there is little doubt that one of two explanations is right, and both turn on Deut. xxi. 22 ff.

And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of God;) that thou defile not thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

It is possible that the text in John is merely a reference to these verses, and that the writer has confused the Sabbath law with a law which was equally applicable to any day of the week. Or possibly the meaning is that the Jews desired to hasten the death of the crucified because they would otherwise be in a difficult position. If their victims lived until the Sabbath they would be unable to bury them, and so fulfil the law of Deut. xxi., without breaking the Sabbath, which forbade work, and so burial, on the Sabbath.

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The other details connected with this part of the account of the burial are unimportant for the present purpose. It is probably hypercritical to say that Pilate would not have consented to the infliction of the "crurifragium"—the leg-breaking—as that was a distinct punishment in the Roman code; and the symbolical interpretation of the incident of the piercing of the side, though important for the history of doctrine, is unimportant for the investigation of the Resurrection.

The second attempt at burial was, according to John, made by disciples, though secret ones—Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus. Apparently the suggestion of the writer is that these two had intervened in time to anticipate the burial which the other Jews were beginning. They then gave the body of the Lord a full and costly burial, omitting nothing which was customary, and laid it in a new tomb in a garden which was close to the place of crucifixion.

(2) *The events at the tomb on the morning of the third day.*—The account of these events is given in John xx. 1-18.

Now the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the tomb, and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb. Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple,

whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and the other disciple, and went to the tomb. And they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the tomb. And he stooping down, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter also following him, and went into the tomb, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, that was upon his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the tomb, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.

But Mary stood without at the tomb weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the tomb. And seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. When she had thus said, she turned back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned, and saith unto him in Hebrew, Rabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to the Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God,

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and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her.

This account is clear and circumstantial, so that it calls for but little comment. The following points are, however, of importance:—

(a) If the text be correct, it would appear that the writer means that he was convinced by the empty tomb, but that St Peter was not. It is possible that the true text in verse 8 is, “and *they* saw and believed,” as is read in the Old Syriac version; but in any case the meaning of the passage is not quite plain. “Believed” in this gospel is generally used in the technical sense of Christian faith; but if that be the case here, the connexion with the following verse (“For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead”) is not obvious. This would naturally mean that the disciples, being ignorant of the prophecy, did not believe in the Resurrection. Is it not probable that “believed” means “believed St Mary Magdalene’s statement that the Jews had taken away the Lord”? It is clear that the latter did not change her opinion, and remained weeping at the tomb. This would be strange if the disciples had drawn a different conclusion from the evidence.

(b) Whatever the meaning of the injunction “Touch

me not" may be, it is dependent on the fact that the Ascension has not yet taken place, and implies that it will take place soon.

(c) St Mary saw at the tomb the angels, who, however, are quite functionless. They do nothing and tell nothing. She also saw a young man, whom, after a momentary mistake, she identified as the Lord.

(d) From the position of the angels seen by St Mary, taken in connexion with the hints given in verses 1, 5, and 6, the nature of the tomb becomes evident. It was a mausoleum, with the actual grave in the middle of the floor; it was closed by a stone which had to be "lifted," and it seems to be represented as a little lower than the rest of the ground. The last point is perhaps not quite clear, but the others are certain. Only so could the angels have been seen, "sitting one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain," and ἠρμένον surely implies a stone lifted away from the tomb—not rolled away from its entrance.¹

(3) *The appearances in Jerusalem to the disciples.*—John reports two of these appearances: the first was to the disciples, in the absence of St Thomas, on the

¹ It is sometimes said that the story implies a "loculus"—a kind of shelf at the side of the tomb—by which the angels were sitting. But this is surely not the plain meaning, and would never have been suggested had it not been for the supposed necessity of finding a meaning which could be harmonised with the synoptic account.

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evening of the third day after the Crucifixion ; and the second appearance was a week later, to the disciples, including St Thomas.

The account of the former incident is John xx. 19-23, and runs as follows :—

Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you : as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit : whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them ; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

In this account there is nothing ambiguous or, at least for the present purpose, calling for explanation. It is apparently the same incident as is related in Luke xxiv. 3 ff. It should be noted that it emphasises and explains the reason why the doors were shut, and differs from Luke in regarding the gift of the Spirit as made then, not as promised for the future, and as connected with the power of forgiving sin, rather than with baptism, though it must be admitted that for the early Church baptism and forgiveness were almost the same thing.

The second incident is given in John xx. 24-29, and runs as follows :—

But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe. And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands : and reach hither thy hand, and put it into my side : and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

This incident also is described in a manner which calls for few explanatory comments. It is, however, noteworthy that it implies that the Ascension had already taken place. This appears from a comparison of John xx. 17 (“Touch me not ; for I am not yet ascended to the Father : but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father ; and to my God, and your God”) with John xx. 27 (“Reach hither thy finger and see my hands, and reach thy hand and put it into my side”). In the former passage St Mary is told not to touch because the Ascension

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has not yet been accomplished; in the latter passage St Thomas is invited to touch. What conclusion can be drawn except that the reason given in the former passage no longer existed at the time referred to in the latter?

In both these appearances it is noticeable that stress is laid on two points which, to modern minds, appear contradictory. On the one hand, the body of the risen Lord was flesh and blood, in so far at least that it was tangible, and contained marks which were recognised as proving its identity with the body which had suffered and been buried. On the other hand, the Lord made his appearance in each case in a room in which the doors had been shut. The fact that no difficulty was felt in combining these two points in the same narrative without giving any explanation of the apparent contradiction is obviously important for the purpose of this investigation, but its exact bearing must be reserved for a later chapter (cf. p. 220 f.).

(4) *The appearance in Galilee.*—This incident is described in John xxi., which, as has already been explained, is an appendix to the rest of the gospel, though it is doubtful whether it was added by the author, or by someone else who more or less successfully imitated his style. It may be divided into two parts: first, the appearance of the Lord and the draught

of fishes ; and, secondly, the so-called restitution of St Peter. The former is contained in John xxi. 1-14, and runs as follows :—

After this Jesus manifested himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias ; and on this wise manifested he himself. There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples. Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also come with thee. They went forth, and entered into the boat ; and that night they caught nothing. But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the beach : but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. Then Jesus saith unto them, Children, have ye anything to eat ? They answered him, No. And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes. Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. Now when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his coat unto him (for he was naked), and cast himself into the sea. And the other disciples came in the little boat (for they were not far from land, but as it were two hundred cubits), dragging the net with fishes. As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of charcoal there, and fish laid thereon, and bread. Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught. Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three : and for all there were so many, yet was not the net torn. Jesus saith unto them, Come and break your fast. And none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou ? knowing that it was the Lord. Jesus cometh, and taketh the bread, and giveth

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them, and fish likewise. This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.

It is plain that the main question here must be the relation between this passage and the parallel account of a wonderful draught of fishes in Luke v. 4 ff., which runs as follows :—

And when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answering said, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing : nevertheless at thy word I will let down the nets. And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes : and their nets began to break. And they beckoned unto their partners in the other boat, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the boats, so that they began to sink. But when Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me ; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken : and so were also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not ; from henceforth thou shalt catch men. And when they had brought their boats to land, they forsook all, and followed him.

Much has been written on this subject, but no decisive results have been reached. It seems very improbable that there is any literary dependence on either side ; the verbal similarity is not close enough to warrant such a view. At the same time, the contents of the

two narratives so closely agree that there is a good case for the view that we have to do with two traditions as to one event. Moreover, there is an obvious connexion between Luke v. 1-11 and Mark i. 16-20. The latter is as follows:—

And as he passed along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him. And when he had gone a little farther thence, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat mending their nets. And straightway he called them; and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.

St Luke clearly regarded the two accounts as alternatives, and preferred the one which contained the story of the wonderful draught of fishes to Mark, which did not. Thus there is something to be said for the suggestion that both in Luke v. and John xxi. we have nothing more than elaborated (and in the latter case misplaced) accounts of the call of St Peter, of which we have a simpler and early narrative in Mark. But it is not certain that this hypothesis ought to be adopted without amendment. It is indeed probable that St Luke regarded his narrative as a substitute for the Marcan one, and it is probable that this preference

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ought not to be followed; it is also probable that the Johannine account refers to the same event as the Lucan one. But the doubtful point is whether St Luke or the redactor of John xxi. ought to be followed in the position they assign to their narrative. Was it originally connected with the call or with the restitution of St Peter? If it be connected with the former—that is, if Luke be right—then the Johannine passage is no longer evidence for the details of an appearance of the risen Lord in Galilee, though it still points to the fact that the redactor of John xxi. knew the tradition of such an appearance, even if he was ignorant of the details. If it be connected with the latter—that is, if the Johannine redactor be right—then it suggests the possibility that this account really represents the original Galilean tradition, and one form of this view which has found much favour in Germany goes further and connects it with the lost conclusion of Mark; but this theory must be dealt with a little later, as it embraces both parts of John xxi.

The second part of John xxi. is verses 15–23, and runs as follows:—

So when they had broken their fast, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs.

He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Tend my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. And this spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me. Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, who is he that betrayeth thee? Peter therefore seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, that he should not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?

This incident is generally known as the restitution of St Peter. As there is no other account of such an incident in any of the other gospels, there is no problem connected with it of the same kind as the connexion of the previous section with Luke v. 1-11. It is in this present form closely connected with the wonderful draught of fishes; but just as the evidence of Mark

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shows that the earliest tradition of the call of St Peter was not connected with a wonderful draught, but that a later tradition established this connexion, so it is possible that there was an earlier tradition as to the restitution of St Peter which stood by itself.

The internal evidence of the passage does not tell us much which is important for the present purpose. It would seem to have been written after the death of St Peter, and the most natural meaning of the last verse is that the beloved disciple himself was also dead, and that the story was published in consequence of this, as an appendix to the gospel which he had written, or was assumed to have written. But these indications are not sufficient to date the document with any exactness.

Taking this chapter as a whole, one now has to face the theory of Rohrbach,¹ adopted by Harnack, that it represents the lost conclusion of Mark. There is certainly not a little to be said for this hypothesis. In all probability the lost conclusion contained an account of an appearance of the risen Lord in Galilee; and Rohrbach urges with much plausibility that it must also have contained some account of the restitution of St Peter after his denial of the Lord. The

¹ Cf. P. Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Marcusevangelium*, and A. Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. p. 696 f.

main objection to the theory is that the style of John xxi., though peculiar in some points, is much more Johannine than Marcan. If it really represents the conclusion of Mark, it has been very freely edited. This objection weighs so much with me that I am inclined to accept Rohrbach's theory in only a modified form. It seems to me improbable that John xxi. represents the actual use of the actual Marcan document; but it may, and probably does, represent the same tradition. Thus it is evidence that the lost section of Mark contained an account of an appearance on the Lake of Galilee. Whether it contained an account of a wonderful draught of fishes is more doubtful. It is possible that it did, but to me it seems more probable that the account in John xxi. stands in this respect to the lost conclusion of Mark just as the account of the call of St Peter in Luke stands to that in Mark. In each case the earliest narrative did not include a wonderful draught of fishes; but there was probably a vague "unlocated" tradition as to this, which different writers connected with different incidents. On this, or on any similar view, it is of course probable that the story originally represented the first appearance of the risen Lord. As the story stands at present it is the third appearance, and the redactor implies that for some reason,

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which he does not relate, the disciples returned to Galilee, after the first appearances of the risen Lord in Jerusalem. It is, however, plain that this statement is very likely to be the work of a redactor, and if one accepts the view that it is in any way connected with the Marcan tradition, it is almost necessary to say that on this point the redactor has been led into a false reckoning, through a desire to reconcile his source with the Jerusalem narrative. There can be no real question that St Mark intended to describe the disciples as going to Galilee before, not after, the first appearance of the Lord.

Thus, with the exception of two points, it is possible to form a clear idea of the view which the redactor of the Fourth Gospel formed of the events connected with the Resurrection.

When the Lord died, the Jews prepared to fulfil the law by burying the body; but Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, two secret disciples, obtained leave from Pilate to undertake this duty, and gave the body full and costly burial rites in a mausoleum, in the middle of which the corpse was placed. On the morning of the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene came to the grave, and, finding it open, thought that the body had been stolen. She reported

this to the disciples, and two of them, St Peter and the beloved disciple, came to see for themselves. They found the facts as St Mary had reported, but the writer has left it difficult to say whether one or both regarded this as evidence that her view was right, or accepted it as proof that the Lord was risen. In any case, St Mary retained her opinion, and remained weeping by the tomb. She then looked in, and saw sitting by the grave two angels, who asked her why she wept. She gave no answer, but turned away, and then was greeted by the Lord, who appeared to her in a form which she at first mistook for the gardener. He entrusted her with the message of his Resurrection and approaching Ascension. Later on in the same day, the Lord appeared in bodily form to the disciples and gave them the Holy Spirit. St Thomas was absent and did not believe the disciples' report, but a week later the Lord appeared again and convinced him.

So far the story is plain, with the exception of the important question that it is not clear whether the writer means that St Peter and the other disciple were or were not convinced of the Resurrection by the empty tomb. But at this point the difficulty arises whether the last chapter ought to be reckoned as part of the original gospel or not. If it ought,

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or if we are only concerned with the view of the last redactor of the canonical text, we must add that the story then represents the disciples as returning to Galilee after the appearances in Jerusalem. Here the Lord appeared to them on the Lake of Galilee, in connexion with the miraculous draught of fishes and the restitution of St Peter.

That this tradition is quite different from that in Mark is obvious; but it is in itself fairly plain and intelligible. It remains for another chapter to discuss the more difficult question of its comparison with the Marcan narrative, and the relative merits of the two traditions.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE RESURRECTION IN APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

BESIDES the canonical accounts of the Resurrection and the incidents connected with it, there are many apocryphal narratives. The majority of these are so obviously unhistorical that they do not call for consideration at length;¹ but there are two which have somewhat higher claims. These are the Gospel of Peter and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(1) *The Gospel of Peter*.—This apocryphal gospel has a remarkable and interesting history. Eusebius² tells us that Serapion, who was bishop of Antioch c. 189–203, found that the church at Rhosus, on the coast of Cilicia, was in the habit of using a “Gospel of Peter.” During a visit to this town he had glanced at the book, and authorised its use; but afterwards hearing that it was of Docetic origin and was

¹ See Appendix B.

² *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 12.

popular among heretics, he withdrew his sanction. Beyond this story we have references in Origen and Jerome which may relate to the same book, but until 1886-7 nothing more definite was known of it. In that winter the French Archæological Mission discovered in a grave at Panopolis a little MS., probably of the fifth century, containing fragments of Greek writing. This was published in 1892 by M. Bouriant, and identified as part of the lost Gospel of Peter. The fragment recovered contains the sections giving the end of the Trial, the Crucifixion, the Burial, and the Resurrection, and when it breaks off it is clearly leading up to an account of an appearance in Galilee. It is difficult to say what are the relations of this document to the canonical gospels, or what is its date and origin. It seems certain that it made use of Mark, and, according to most writers, probably of Matthew, but that it shows knowledge of Luke and John is doubtful (to my own mind improbable), and various details of more or less legendary character have been added from other sources which cannot be identified. It is impossible to say exactly whether the sources which it used were textually identical with the canonical gospels or were recensions earlier than any now extant. On the one hand, the compiler may have used the sources of the canonical gospels, or, on the other hand, a harmony of the gospels,

such as was made by Tatian. Its date depends partly on the question whether it was used by Justin (*c.* 150) or not; but it is probable that it is not earlier than 100 A.D., and not much later than 130 A.D. Personally, I think the earlier date the more probable, but it is unnecessary to discuss the point here. Its origin cannot be defined further than that it belonged to a Docetic, but not to an extreme Docetic circle, and it may be doubted how far, when it was written, its compiler could have recognised that there was anything in it which was likely to be offensive to other Christians.

It seems best, in dealing with the account of the Resurrection given in this document, to depart slightly from the method followed in discussing the canonical gospels. The latter are so generally well known that their purport is common knowledge, and it is only necessary to draw attention to details and difficulties, which are often overlooked owing to the general familiarity of the narrative. But the Gospel of Peter is not well known, except to students, and therefore it is preferable to give its narrative as a whole rather than in paragraphs. It runs thus¹:—

Chapter II. Now there stood there Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and knowing that they were

¹ The translation given is taken, with his permission, from Prof. H. B. Swete's edition of the Gospel of Peter.

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about to crucify him, he came to Pilate, and begged the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod, and begged his body; and Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no man had begged him, we should bury him, inasmuch as the sabbath draweth on; for it is written in the Law that the sun set not on one that hath died by violence.

IV. . . . And they had indignation against him and commanded that his legs should not be broken, to the end that he might die in torment.

V. . . . And the Lord cried aloud, saying, My power, my power thou hast left me; and having said this he was taken up. And the same hour the veil of the temple of Jerusalem was torn in twain.

VI. And then they drew the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth; and the whole earth was shaken, and great fear came upon them. Then the sun shone out, and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the Jews rejoiced, and they gave his body to Joseph to bury it, inasmuch as he beheld all the good things that he did. So he took the Lord and washed him, and wrapped him in linen and brought him into his own tomb, called Joseph's Garden.

VII. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, knowing what evil they had done to themselves, began to bewail and say, Woe to our sins! the judgment is at hand and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my fellows was in sorrow, and being wounded at heart we hid ourselves, for we were sought for by them as malefactors and as minded to burn the temple; and besides all this we were fasting, and we sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

VIII. But the scribes and Pharisees and elders, being assembled together, and hearing that the whole people

murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If these exceeding great signs were wrought at his death, see how righteous he was—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Deliver to us soldiers that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us mischief. So Pilate delivered unto them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb; and with them there came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone with¹ the centurion and the soldiers, all who were there together, placed it at the door of the sepulchre: and they spread upon it seven seals and pitched a tent there and kept guard. Now when it was morning, at the dawning of the sabbath, there came a crowd from Jerusalem and the country round about to see the sepulchre, how it had been sealed.

IX. Now on the night when the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard by two and two in a watch, there was a great voice in heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with much light and draw nigh unto the tomb. And the stone which had been cast at the door rolled away of itself and made way in part, and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. The soldiers, therefore, when they saw it, awakened the centurion and the elders (for they were also there keeping watch); and as they told the things that they had seen, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, two of them supporting the other, and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of him who was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Didst thou

¹ Emending the text; Dr Swete reads "against."

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preach to them that sleep?¹ And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

X. They took counsel therefore with one another to go and show these things unto Pilate. And while they yet thought on this, the heavens again appeared to open, and a man descended and entered into the sepulchre. When they saw this, they of the centurion's company hastened by night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were guarding, and told all they had seen, greatly distressed, and saying, Truly he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am clean from the blood of the Son of God, but this was your pleasure. Then they all came near and besought him, and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing as to the things which they had seen; for it is expedient for us (they said) to be guilty of a very great sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

XI. Now at dawn on the Lord's Day, Mary Magdalene, a female disciple of the Lord—afraid by reason of the Jews, forasmuch as they were inflamed by wrath, she had not done at the sepulchre of the Lord what women are wont to do for those who die and who are dear to them—took with her her female friends, and came to the sepulchre where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them; and they said, Although we could not weep and bewail him on the day when he was crucified, let us do so now at his sepulchre. But who shall roll us away the stone which was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due? for the stone was great and we fear lest any man see us. And if we cannot, even though we

¹ Dr Swete does not read this as a question.

should cast at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and bewail him until we come to our house. So they went and found the tomb open, and they came near and stooped down to look in there; and they see there a young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, fair and clothed with a robe exceeding bright, who said to them, Wherefore have ye come? whom seek ye? him who was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, stoop down and look in and see the place where he lay, for he is not here; for he is risen and gone thither from whence he was sent. Then the women fled affrighted.

XII. Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many went out of the city, returning to their houses, the feast being at an end. And we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were in sorrow, and every man withdrew to his house, sorrowing for that which had come to pass. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .

In this account the following points are noteworthy:—

1. In chapters ii. and vi., which narrate the burial, Joseph of Arimathæa is represented as a friend (not a disciple) of the Lord and of Pilate, who made arrangements for the burial before the crucifixion. There seems to be a trace of the tradition found in John that the Jews began to prepare for the burial, but it is in the form that they would have undertaken it if Joseph had not intervened. The reference to the law of Deuteronomy implied in John is here explicit. It

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has been suggested that this implies knowledge of the Fourth Gospel; but all that can fairly be said is that it represents in the main the same type of tradition; there is no verbal similarity such as would prove the use of the Fourth Gospel as an actual source, and if the writer had been using it, it is not probable that he would have described burial rites much simpler than those in John, and have completely omitted Nicodemus' share in them.

2. In chapter v. the Ascension is represented as taking place at the moment of death on the cross. At first sight this seems inconsistent in an account which afterwards narrates the Resurrection. But the apparent inconsistency can be explained as due to the peculiarity of the doctrine of the Docetics, from whose circle the Gospel of Peter came. There were many sorts of Docetics; the greater part at a later time were advanced Gnostics, but probably the earlier types were less extravagant. There seems to have been a tendency in most of them to distinguish the man Jesus from the Christ—the divine spirit who dwelt in him. Irenæus supplies us with valuable information on this point. Speaking of one of the Docetic sects (the Ophites), he says (i. 28, 7, ed. Harvey): “They say that the Christ himself retired with Wisdom to the incorruptible Æon, but Jesus was crucified. Yet

the Christ did not forget Jesus,¹ but sent down a Power on him, which animated him in a bodily form of the kind which they call 'of soul and spirit' (*i.e.* ψυχικὸν καὶ πνευματικόν), but the material part he gave back to the world of matter (*i.e.* left in the grave)." This sufficiently explains the Gospel of Peter. At the moment of death Christ left the human Jesus and ascended to heaven. But power descended later on and raised Jesus from the dead. This power is clearly to be identified with the two angels which were seen entering the tomb and bringing out the resuscitated Lord.

3. In chapters vii. and xii. the conduct of the disciples is described. They were sought for by the Jews throughout the Friday, but succeeded in hiding themselves until the Sabbath. On the last day of unleavened bread they separated to their homes; and St Peter, St Andrew, and "Levi the son of Alphæus" returned to "the sea" (*i.e.* of Galilee) to resume their occupation of fishermen. There is no suggestion that they had seen the Lord in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. It is, however, not easy to fix the day on which the writer intends to place their departure. Strictly, the last day of unleavened bread was Nisan 21—a week after the Crucifixion. Professor Swete, in his edition of the

¹ Adopting Harvey's emendation.

Gospel of Peter, thinks that this is really the meaning of the writer ; but it seems so improbable that he would have passed abruptly over from the Sunday to the Friday without assigning any events to the intervening days, that it is preferable to adopt the suggestion of M. Lods that the writer is under the influence of the Christian custom, which regarded Easter Day as the completion of the Pasch. If so, the writer means that the disciples stayed in hiding in or near Jerusalem so long as the fury of the crowd lasted, and then, as soon as the Sabbath was over, returned to their homes in Galilee or elsewhere.

4. In chapters viii.-x. the story of the guard at the tomb resembles that in Matthew, though there are considerable differences. The agreement in more than one place is verbally so close that it seems at first sight clearly probable that the writer was acquainted with Matthew. But if so he has considerably modified the tradition. In Matthew it is not quite certain, though probable, that the guard was one of Roman soldiers. "Peter" makes this plain, and gives corroborative details. Matthew represents the soldiers as reporting their experiences to the chief priests ; "Peter" sends them directly to Pilate. Moreover, "Peter" represents the Jews as themselves watching by the grave, independently of the guard. The question is whether

these differences are compatible with the literary use of Matthew. Certainly they would not be if early writers had regarded their sources as authoritative documents. But when the Gospel of Peter was written, this is just what Matthew had not yet become. It would have been for "Peter" a written statement of facts which he had often heard spoken of. He was, therefore, willing to use it, but felt at liberty to remodel or correct its statements as he thought right; it is even possible that, like Papias, he had a tendency to depreciate written sources. Thus the use of Matthew is quite possible; but the possibility is not excluded that Matthew and "Peter" are two divergent forms of the same tradition, and personally I am inclined to regard this view as perhaps slightly the more probable.

5. In chapter ix. there is an explicit account of the Resurrection, which has no exact parallel in the gospels, but seems to embody various details found especially in Matthew. It is easy to see that the two young men who descended from heaven and entered the tomb correspond to the great angel of the Lord in Matthew, though, as in John, they have been doubled. Their object was not, as in Matthew, to roll away the stone, which moved of itself, but, as was shown above, probably was the raising of the human Jesus, whom the Christ had left at the Crucifixion. Perhaps, however, the most

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remarkable features in the account are the supernatural stature of the resuscitated Jesus and the personification of the Cross. The former point is probably a trace of the Jewish legend quoted by Dr Swete in his comment on this passage: "The first man extended from the earth to the firmament . . . and inasmuch as he sinned, the Holy One . . . placed his hand upon him and made him small." The suggestion is that the glorified man resumed the stature which Adam had lost. The second point is more difficult to explain; but whatever may be the origin of it, the fact is certain that there was a widespread tendency to regard the Crucified as taking the Cross¹ with him, and a great mass of symbolism grew up round the Cross. Illustrative passages are quoted by Dr Swete.

It is plain that the words of chapter ix. refer to the descent into Hades, which is not mentioned in the gospels, but plays a large part in apocryphal literature, as well as in the development of early Christian doctrine and art.

6. In chapter xi. the narrative takes up the thread of the Marcan account. The agreement is here verbally

¹ It is said that in Egypt the cross was a symbol of life which was sometimes placed in tombs. This fact may prove to be important, but it has not yet been fully worked out. Prof. Völter has also suggested Egyptian parallels for the two angels. Cf. *Zeitschrift für N.T. Wissenschaft*, 1905, iv. pp. 370 ff.

so close that there is no room for doubt that the writer was actually using Mark, though with much freedom. The following points are noteworthy:—(a) Unlike Matthew, he does not identify the young man of Mark with the angel (or angels) who descended at the time when the stone was rolled away, and, in order to explain the presence of the young man whom the women find, he introduces in chapter x. “a certain man” who descended from heaven and entered the tomb. (b) The women’s object in coming to the tomb is changed from the anointing of the body into a desire to place at the tomb the spices which would have been thus used under other circumstances. It will be remembered that a somewhat similar alteration is made in Matt. xxviii. 1, when it is said that the women came to see the grave. In each case the reason is the same. Matthew and Peter have both adopted an account of seals on the tomb and a guard appointed especially to watch that no disciple entered it. Clearly this is inconsistent with an attempt to anoint the dead body, but as both Matthew and Peter preferred the story of the guard to the Marcan account, the former dropped the anointing absolutely, and the latter changed it into a kind of votive offering of the spices. (c) The message of the young man is rewritten. The main point of difference is that the statement “He is

risen and gone away whence he was sent" takes the place of the Marcan "He goes before you into Galilee." One may suppose that "Peter" objected to these words as seeming to imply a continuance of the earthly ministry, and that he wished to emphasise his view that both the Christ and Jesus had now been exalted to heaven. (d) "Peter" omits the definite statement that the women did not say anything to anyone about their experience, but surely implies it in the sorrow attributed to the disciples in chapter xii.

7. In chapter xii., where the manuscript breaks off, it is clearly leading up to an account of an appearance of the risen Lord on the Sea of Galilee. Many writers have adopted the view that this must mean that "Peter" went on to narrate the incident recorded in John xxi. But beyond the fact that both "Peter" and John xxi. narrate or imply an appearance to the disciples on the Sea of Galilee, there is nothing to support the suggestion; and decidedly adverse to it is the lack of agreement as to the names of the disciples. Another suggestion is that "Peter" was acquainted with, and is using, the lost conclusion of Mark. In favour of this view are two main arguments. In the first place, up to this point the last chapters of the Gospel of Peter seem to be based on Mark. There is thus a certain probability that the redactor

is still using this source. In the second place, Levi, the son of Alphæus, is a name which is only found elsewhere in Mark ii. 14. In the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke he is called respectively Matthew and Levi, without mentioning his father. It is also noteworthy that the conduct of the disciples as described above agrees better with what may be best imagined to have been the contents of the lost conclusion than with any other known document. I am therefore inclined to accept the suggestion that "Peter" was acquainted with and used the lost conclusion of Mark. Unfortunately, what we have seen of "Peter's" methods as an editor does not point to the advisability of regarding his paraphrase as trustworthy. It may be taken with comparative safety to show that the lost conclusion described an appearance of the Lord to St Peter, and to some of the other disciples, on the Sea of Galilee. It also supports the statement that Mark regarded the disciples as going to Galilee in despair without having heard anything of the young man's message to the women. The really difficult and important question is whether we can trust it when it represents the disciples as staying in hiding in Jerusalem until after the Sabbath. It is impossible to answer this question with any confidence: the writer of the gospel seems in any case to have

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confused the chronology of the Passover, but there seems to be no reason why he should have invented the story that the disciples spent a day, or even two days, in hiding in or near Jerusalem until the passion of the mob died down, unless he had found it in his source—that is to say, in the lost conclusion of Mark.

(2) *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.*—The history of this document is one of the most perplexing and most frequently discussed problems in the whole of early Christian literature. The main points are these:—Papias of Hierapolis, writing not later than 140 A.D., says that Matthew wrote “the Oracles” (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew (which may mean Aramaic) language. It is possible that he meant our Matthew, in which case he was probably wrong, as nothing is more certain than that, as it stands, Matthew is not a direct translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic book, but is based on Greek documents. It is, however, more probable that Papias was not alluding to our Matthew, but to one of the sources, which, though used in Greek translations by the redactor of our gospel, were originally Aramaic. However this may be, Papias’ statement certainly gave rise to the tradition of a Hebrew gospel behind the canonical Matthew. When, therefore, Jerome at the end of the fourth century went to Palestine and found an

Aramaic gospel in existence, he naturally assumed that it was the original Matthew. Whether he found one or two such gospels is not quite certain—two is more probable—but in any case he studied them and apparently made Greek and Latin translations. These have not survived, but enough quotations have been preserved by him and other writers to show that it was probably not an Aramaic version of a canonical gospel, but an independent and inferior document, though there is, perhaps, still room for doubt on the point. There are only two extant fragments which refer to the Resurrection, both quoted by Jerome.

1. But the Lord, when he had given the linen sheet to a servant of the Priest, went to James and appeared to him, for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he saw him rising from those that slept. . . . The Lord said, "Bring ye a table and bread." . . . He took bread and blessed and brake, and gave to James the Just, and said to him, "My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from them that sleep" (*De Vir. ill. 2*).

In spite of the unimportant lacunæ, this account is clear and circumstantial as far as it goes; it is obviously connected with the tradition mentioned by St Paul of the appearance to St James, but its exact relation to this and its consequent value must be considered later.

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2. "Touch me and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit;" and immediately they touched him and believed (*De Vir. ill.* 16).

Jerome says that these words were spoken on the occasion of the Lord's appearance to St Peter and the other disciples who were with him. It is apparently the same tradition as is found in Luke xxiv. 39, and is quoted in almost the same words by Ignatius (*Smyrn.* iii. 2). It is only important in that it suggests, if Jerome's view of the context may be trusted, that St Peter was present on this occasion.

CHAPTER VI

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLIEST TRADITION

THE historian is above everything else inspired by the desire to know the truth ; but experience has taught that this knowledge can only be reached by stages. Thus in practice the desire to know the truth about any given event in history results in the attempt to answer three questions : first, what is the extant evidence ? secondly, what is the original tradition ? thirdly, what are the actual facts ? In each case the answer to one question provides the means of stating, and perhaps of solving, the problems belonging to the next. The finished article of one stage is the raw material of another.

In the preceding chapters an attempt was made to deal with the first of these questions, and to collect and set out all the narratives which have any serious claim to give valuable historical information as to the

Resurrection of Jesus Christ; but the reconstruction from them of the earliest tradition was not attempted, and it is this which is the subject of the present chapter.

In any such attempt it is desirable to remember that the reconstruction of an original tradition from forms of later dates and of divergent contents must be guided by exactly the same principle as is the reconstruction of an original text from a number of extant MSS. In each case the fundamental problem is the retracing of the line of development followed by the various authorities, and the solution depends chiefly on the ability to detect errors of transmission and to explain their existence. But, partly because theirs is a more concrete line of study, textual critics enjoy the advantage over historians of more definitely recognised rules, and especially of the classic statement of them given by Dr Hort. According to him the guiding principles are two—intrinsic probability and transcriptional probability. If we make a slight change and speak of traditional instead of transcriptional probability, these terms suit equally well the task of the historical critic. He is as a rule confronted with a number of statements which seem to refer to the same events, but are mutually contradictory. To guide him through this maze of partial

agreement and partial contradiction, he has two clues. He first asks which form of the narrative is the more probable in itself—that is the test of intrinsic probability. Then he has to ask which forms of the story can be eliminated as developments of others—that is traditional probability—and under favourable circumstances this method ought to lead to the establishment of a genealogical tree of the various forms of extant tradition branching out from the earliest, just as it leads in textual criticism to the grouping of MSS. according to families. One other point must be noted: in textual criticism it is well known that “conflation” or mixture of texts is one of the most general phenomena. A scribe found two phrases in the same place in different MSS., and instead of choosing one he combined them and put down both in the copy which he made. It is exactly the same in tradition. Confronted by two accounts of the same event, the early narrator (and I think the natural man in all ages) did not usually take one and reject the other. He often kept both; sometimes combining them artistically, but not infrequently quite mechanically, so that what were originally two divergent accounts of one event became one account of two consecutive events. As I hope to show, this factor has often to be reckoned with in discussing the

Resurrection ; and in general it may be said that the fact that the early narrator was usually synthetic justifies the critic in being usually analytic.

On these lines the material collected in the foregoing chapter must be used. We desire to get behind the tradition as it was when the gospels were written, to its earliest possible form. For this purpose a division of the material is desirable into five headings, according to its contents: (1) the burial; (2) the events at the tomb on the third morning; (3) the appearances of the risen Lord; (4) the descent into Hades; (5) the ascent into Heaven.

(1) *The burial*.—Of this we have two full accounts in the Marcan and Johannine narratives, and an additional incident—the guard at the tomb—in Matthew and the Gospel of Peter. The Marcan narrative is represented in Matthew and Luke as well as in Mark, but, as was shown in chapter ii., neither the Matthean nor Lucan alterations seem to be more than redactorial work intended to elucidate ambiguities or difficulties in Mark. The Johannine narrative is represented by John, and has perhaps also influenced the Gospel of Peter. Are these accounts contradictory or complementary? They agree in ascribing the burial of Jesus to Joseph of Arimathæa and in placing the grave near the site of the Crucifixion; but there the

agreement ends, and for the details they are contradictory. This may be seen most clearly if they are compared on quite concrete points—the nature of the tomb and the manner of the burial.

The nature of the tomb is defined in Mark as a grave cut out of the rock. That is to say, it was one of the ordinary rock-graves with which, according to the writer of the article on "Burial" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was honeycombed. These graves (often called Kokim graves) have frequently been described. They generally consisted of a rectangular chamber, out of three sides of which ran tunnels in which the bodies were deposited. Directions for making them are to be found in the Mishna. On the other hand, in John the grave was a kind of mausoleum, a large chamber partly sunk in the ground, with the place for the corpse in the middle, closed by a stone which could be lifted, not rolled away (cf. p. 134). If words be given the ordinary meaning, these two accounts are contradictory.

The manner of the burial is described by the two narratives with even less agreement. According to Mark, Joseph came alone; according to John, he was accompanied by Nicodemus. According to Mark, the body was merely wrapped in a shroud, and not anointed, so that the women came after the Sabbath to supply

the deficiency. According to John, the two secret disciples gave the body a full and costly burial, using much myrrh and aloes, and no suggestion is made that Mary Magdalene wished to supplement their actions. Both accounts cannot be correct; and it should be noted that this is not merely an argument from silence, for Mark does not merely not say that Joseph anointed the body, but definitely ascribes to someone else the wish to make up for his omission.

A less certain point of difference is to be seen in the fact that Mark gives no motive for Joseph's undertaking the burial, while John describes him as a secret disciple, who intervened when the Jews were going to bury the body. It may be said that in this case the two accounts are clearly complementary, not contradictory; but this is scarcely true, for of all possible motives which might have animated Joseph, discipleship is least in agreement with the Marcan account. Mark says that Joseph was a member of the Sanhedrim, and that he did not anoint the body. Is it probable that a disciple would have been the one or have omitted the other, or is it likely that a member of the Sanhedrim would have intervened, as John says that he did, when the Jews were on the point of giving the body the common burial of criminals? Apparently the redactor of Matthew found it improbable, for in editing Mark he omitted the

membership of the Sanhedrim, and by omitting the reason for the women's visit to the tomb withdrew attention from the unceremonious nature of Joseph's burial. It is significant that these two omissions are also found in John. Therefore one is justified in thinking that the discipleship ascribed to Joseph in John is not really to be reconciled with the Marcan account.

Thus we have to choose between the two accounts. To do this we can apply the two tests—intrinsic probability and traditional probability. The first of these two asks which account is more probable having regard to the circumstances, and this question must be applied to the three points on which the two accounts disagree—the character of the grave, the method of burial, and the motive of Joseph of Arimathæa.

The first point—the character of the grave—is really a question of archæology, and the evidence of experts is plain. The general custom in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was to make use of fissures or openings in the rocks, more or less on the side of a hill or on the face of a cliff, converting them into the Kokim tombs described above. The custom differed in details: just after the time of Christ shelves frequently began to take the place of the tunnels previously used. But

the use of a chamber on the level with a place for burial in the middle, and closed by a stone on the top, such as is implied by John, was either unknown or very rare. Archæological probability is entirely in favour of a tunnelled Kokim tomb, and so supports Mark.

The two other points cannot be separated from one another; nor can a decisive solution be given to the questions they raise on the ground of intrinsic probability. If Joseph was not a disciple, he probably did not anoint the body; if he was, he probably did. Each account is self-consistent in this respect. But, it may be said, has not John the advantage that it gives a reasonable motive for Joseph's action, which Mark does not? In other words, if Joseph was not a disciple, why did he bury the Lord's body? This seems at first sight a powerful argument, but there is another motive, which would certainly have animated all the members of the Sanhedrim—a desire to fulfil the law of Deuteronomy quoted on p. 130. That this enactment was by no means a dead letter in the time of Christ may be seen from Josephus, who, speaking of the murder of Joshua and Ananos by the Idumeans, says, "They reached such a pitch of impiety that they cast out their bodies unburied, though the Jews are so concerned for burial that they take down before sunset and bury those who have been condemned

and crucified" (*B.J.*, iv. 5. 2, ed. Niese). There is thus no doubt that this motive would have weighed greatly with a member of the Sanhedrim who belonged to the strict sect and "was expecting the kingdom of God," and there is only one objection to the view that this was Joseph's motive. It is said that if this had been his motive he would have buried the Lord in one of the common graves for criminals. That there were such graves is rendered probable (though, considering the date of the evidence, not certain) by a statement in Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Matt. xxvii. 58, from the Babylonian Mishna, to the effect that the Sanhedrim had two common graves for criminals: one for those put to death by the sword, and the other for those stoned or burned. If Joseph was merely fulfilling the law, why did he not use one of these graves? This is a serious but not fatal objection. Speed was essential; the law enjoined burial, and it also enjoined the Sabbath rest. The only way of fulfilling the law of burial without breaking the Sabbath law was to use a grave close to the place of crucifixion. Thus, on the assumption that Joseph was not a disciple, we can give an explanation of his action which renders the Marcan account self-consistent and probable, and the result of a comparison of the Marcan and Johannine accounts, from the point of view of intrinsic probability, is on

one point strongly in favour of Mark, and on the two others as favourable to Mark as to John.

The same result is reached if we go on to the consideration of "traditional probability," and ask which tradition is likely to have given rise to the other.

If John represents the facts, how can they ever have given rise to Mark? If tradition had stated from the beginning that Joseph was a secret disciple who, with Nicodemus, gave the Lord a costly burial in a tomb of a kind unusual in Jerusalem, how did the tradition arise which omitted to state that he was a disciple, said that he did not anoint the body, and that certain women tried to supply the deficiency? No satisfactory reason can be given for the existence of Mark if John be the earliest tradition.

But if we adopt the other hypothesis and assume that Mark is the earlier, the development of the tradition becomes intelligible. It was seen in chapter ii. that there was a tendency to elaborate the Marcan account in certain directions. The silence of Mark as to Joseph's motive was remedied by attributing to him either discipleship or sympathy; the nature of the burial was made more consistent with these motives; and more emphasis was laid on the nature of the tomb, which in Luke has become one of "hewn stone" instead of a tomb "cut out of the rock." These

alterations, as has been seen, can be perfectly well explained as the natural emendations of redactors: some of them betray their origin by not fitting well into the framework of the tradition, and the general literary dependence of Matthew and Luke on Mark is clear. John follows up these alterations, but goes further and makes the whole narrative self-consistent. So far as the motive of Joseph is concerned, the development traced in Matthew is followed. We are no longer told that Joseph is a member of the Sanhedrim, and the anointing of the body is taken from the women and given to Joseph and Nicodemus. In the same way, as far as the character of the tomb is concerned, John follows up the line of development which is indicated in Luke. In Mark we have an ordinary rock-tomb; in Luke, a tomb of hewn stone; in John, a mausoleum with a place for the body in the centre. The development is clear, and it is also natural; for it is quite intelligible that from the beginning Christian feeling would have preferred to believe that their Lord was buried by a disciple, and to idealise the conditions of the burial, while the Marcan phrase "was expecting the kingdom of God" would soon have been given a Christian meaning, and would have aided this preference.

John also, when regarded in this light gives an

answer to the question which might naturally be asked, why it is that there is no definite trace in Christian tradition of the attribution of the desire to fulfil the law? The answer is that there are traces both in John and in the Gospel of Peter that it was recognised that this motive had weight with the Jews. In John we have the narrative that the Jews actually began to undertake the burial before Joseph intervened; and in Peter the same type of tradition is presented in the form that the Jews would have done this, had it not been for Joseph's petition to Pilate. If John were otherwise preferable to Mark, one would have no difficulty in accepting this story as probably early and historical. As it is, it can be explained most satisfactorily as due to confusion of theories originally attaching to Joseph, one of which was separated from its connexion with him and afterwards brought back into the story in an altered form.

This can easily have been the case if we concede that there probably was from the beginning alongside of Mark a more or less vague tradition that the Sanhedrim had taken measures for the burial of Jesus. This tradition was, of course, perfectly true if Joseph acted in any sense as the representative of the Sanhedrim; but as soon as the view gained ground that Joseph was a disciple, and the fact that he was a member of the

Sanhedrim was consequently forgotten, it became unintelligible, and had to be explained as something apart from his action. This stage is found in John and in the Gospel of Peter, and illustrates what was said on p. 168, that the development of tradition often converts two diverse accounts of one incident into one account of two consecutive incidents.

Thus the Marcan account seems to be preferable to the Johannine, as well on grounds of traditional as of intrinsic probability.

It remains to consider the detached episode of the guard at the tomb. Is it possible that this is a genuine remnant of correct tradition?

Neither intrinsic nor traditional probability favours its claim. If the form of the traditions in Matthew be followed, it seems to imply a breach of the Sabbath law. This law certainly would have forbidden the sealing of the tomb, and probably the interview with Pilate. Again, if, as seems probable, the guard was one of Roman soldiers, it is unlikely that they would have accepted any conceivable bribe to plead guilty to a military offence—sleeping on duty—which was punishable by death. These difficulties do not apply to the narrative in the Gospel of Peter, which represents the guard as set before the Sabbath and the Jews as obtaining the silence of the soldiers by a confession of,

their sin to Pilate. Yet it is scarcely necessary to argue that this account is wildly improbable. A further and perhaps greater difficulty is that both the Ps-Petrine and Matthean accounts represent the Jews as quite well acquainted with the belief that Jesus would rise from the dead, whereas it is clear from the gospels generally that this belief was not common. Even if it be conceded that Christ prophesied his resurrection, it is at least plain that these prophecies were not understood by the disciples until after the event. It is therefore extremely unlikely that the Jews were so afraid of an attempt by the disciples to secure a false fulfilment, or that they understood Christ's prophecy before the disciples themselves. Thus intrinsic probability is strongly opposed to the tradition. Even more strongly opposed is traditional probability. If one take the Johannine account, there is no room for the guard at the tomb in the various events recorded as taking place on the morning of the third day; but still more difficult is it if one take the Marcan narrative. In the first place, the mission of the women shows that the only difficulty which they anticipated in entering the tomb to anoint the body was the stone at the entrance. How can this be explained if there was a guard at the tomb? In the second place, Mark says that the disciples were scattered, and probably implies

that they were hiding or had left Jerusalem for fear of persecution. How can this be reconciled with the idea that the Jews were afraid that the disciples would steal the body? It is impossible to find room for this incident in the earliest tradition, and traditional probability, in excluding its historicity, also suggests that its origin was connected with the earliest controversies of Jews and Christians. Faced by the Christian belief in the Resurrection, and the implied or asserted emptiness of the tomb, the Jews invented the explanation that the disciples had stolen the body. The Christians replied that this could not be, for the Jews themselves had placed a guard at the tomb—some said at once, others on the Sabbath after the burial. The Jews retorted by asking why, if so, the soldiers had not seen the Resurrection; and the Christians replied that they had done so, but had concealed their evidence—some said because they had been bribed by the Jews, others because Pilate had ordered them to do so. Thus the most probable view is that this incident is nothing more than a fragment of controversy, in which each imputed unworthy motives to the other, and stated suggestions as established facts. Any controversy in any age will supply parallels.

This reconstruction of the genesis of the narrative is of course not to be taken as more than a hypothesis;

the important point is that we have in this tradition points of contact on the one hand with the story of the burial, and on the other with the early Jewish-Christian controversy. We cannot find room for it in the earliest known accounts of the burial, on the assumption that it is true; but we can explain its origin quite intelligibly on the assumption that it arose in the controversy owing to the action of influences which in every age and in every land have always influenced controversialists, and produced statements which, though probably uttered in good faith, prove to have no foundation in fact. It must therefore be regarded as so probable as to be practically certain that the story of the guard at the tomb had no place in the earliest traditions as to the burial, is unhistorical, and need not be further taken into account in considering the evidence for the Resurrection of the Lord.

We are therefore justified in saying that the earliest tradition as to the burial of the Lord is as follows:— Contrary to all expectation, the Lord died in the early afternoon of Friday. This was certainly unexpected, for it was usual for crucified men to live on the cross for days, and this was so well recognised in antiquity that Origen ascribed the speedy death of the Lord to a miracle. It then became necessary to carry out the law of Deuteronomy and provide burial before sunset.

Pilate's leave to do this was obtained by Joseph of Arimathæa, a member of the Sanhedrim and a strict Jew. Joseph took the body and buried it near the place of crucifixion in a rock-grave, which he closed, as was usual, with a stone. His proceedings were watched by the little band of sorrowing women, among them Mary Magdalene, who had been spectators of the Crucifixion, and they determined to come as soon as possible to supplement the burial by the anointing which Joseph had omitted. It is not stated whether Joseph acted on his own initiative or as a representative of the Sanhedrim, but the latter alternative is rendered probable by the fact that the Sanhedrim would certainly have thought itself bound to carry out the law, and by the existence, though in a late and corrupt form, of a tradition stating that the Jews, in order to fulfil the law, prepared for the burial, apart from Joseph, which probably is only a distorted reflection of the fact that Joseph was the representative of the Sanhedrim, and that his (or their) motive was the fulfilment of the law of Deuteronomy.

(2) *The events at the tomb on the third day.*—Of these events we have an account in Mark which, variously combined with other traditions, appears also in Matthew, in Luke, and in the Gospel of Peter, and a different account (as it at least seems at first) in John.

As they stand these versions are contradictory, though, as will be shown, it is probable that they all, even John, are ultimately to be traced to one tradition. The contradictions are to be found at many points. It is unnecessary to attempt to give a full list of them, but the following are the most noticeable:—

Mark says that the women saw a young man, and found the stone rolled away from the tomb. Matthew, though following Mark in the main, says that they saw an angel of the Lord descend from heaven and roll away the stone. Luke says that they saw two men. John says that Mary Magdalene paid two visits to the tomb; the first time she saw no one, but found that the stone had been lifted from the grave; the second time she saw first two angels and afterwards the Lord. Similarly, the message to the women in Mark, followed by Matthew, is that the Lord is risen, and will appear to the disciples in Galilee; in Luke, that he is risen, as he said to the disciples in Galilee; in "Peter," that he is risen, and gone thither whence he was sent. Again, according to Mark the women told no one, because they were afraid, probably of the Jews, and probably because the disciples (of whom they would not have been afraid) could not be found. "Peter," at least in the main, follows this account. Luke says that they told the disciples, who did not believe them. John says that they told

the disciples, who verified the fact that the tomb was empty, and that Mary Magdalene, remaining at the tomb, saw first two angels and then the Lord himself. Matthew also adds that on their way back the women saw the Lord, but, as has been shown, this incident is in Matthew merely a doublet of the appearance of the young man. Finally, it must be noted that "Peter" prefaces the account by a long statement as to the actual Resurrection itself, which was seen by the guard at the tomb and by the representatives of the Jews.

Thus no two accounts really agree. The question therefore arises whether traditional or intrinsic probability helps us to select any one of them as the earliest form of the tradition, and to explain the origin of the other forms as derived from it.

It is more convenient in this case to begin with traditional probability. This is very strongly in favour of Mark; for if it be conceded that it is the earliest form of the tradition, the others all fall into place in an intelligible though complicated system of development under the influence of known causes.

This may be seen in each of the main points of the narrative. The young man in Mark (followed in this respect only by the second part of "Peter") is a figure who appears without any explanation of his identity or mission: a fact which is entirely in keeping with

the assumption that the narrative is historical, for the affrighted women would not have made inquiries on these points at the moment.

Naturally, however, attempts were soon made to identify him. The most obvious view for that generation, in which angelology was so powerful a force, was that he was an angel. This view is adopted in Matthew; but when he was identified as an angel, it was an inevitable step to go a little further, and say that he was the angel who in Jewish mythology was charged with the care of the souls of the dead, and of the Resurrection.¹ Still a further step is to be found in the doubling of the angel, again strictly in accordance with Jewish thought, in the earlier part of the Gospel of "Peter" and in John, when Mary Magdalene sees two angels in the tomb, and (with apparently a curious verbal reminiscence of the original form of the tradition which spoke of a man, not of an angel) in Luke. Finally, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, still in complete agreement with contemporary mythology, identifies the two angels as Michael and Gabriel, stating in the form of a prophecy that "Gabriel the angel of the Holy Spirit, and Michael the chief of the Holy Angels, on the third day will open the sepulchre, and the Beloved, sitting on their shoulders, will come forth."

¹ See Appendix A.

Another line of thought identified the young man as the risen Lord. There is no extant document which contents itself with this view, but it is to be traced in Matthew (cf. p. 84 f.) and in John, in the appearance of the Lord to Mary Magdalene.

It is obvious that these two identifications of the young man are not reconcilable with each other. But the methods of early Christian writers, whether dealing with traditions in one generation or with textual variations in another, led them to prefer combination to selection. Thus it is not surprising to find that in some narratives both identifications have been adopted. In Matthew we have the appearance of the angel and also of the Lord; and here the conflation is so complete that the same message is delivered twice. In John we have a similar combination. In her second visit to the tomb Mary Magdalene sees first two angels and afterwards the Lord, but the conflation is more artistically concealed than in Matthew, as the message to the disciples is only given once, by the Lord, though the question leading up to it is left to the angels, who by being deprived of the message are rendered an almost functionless apparition. There is also perhaps a trace of the original tradition in Mary's first idea that the Lord was the gardener. The Gospel of Peter has also combined explanations. It has first adopted the

development of the young man into angels, who are given the function, which is also theirs in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, of conducting the Lord from the tomb, not of announcing the Resurrection to the women. But not recognising that these two angels were a developed form of the young man in Mark, the redactor has gone on to add the Marcan narrative in a fairly close paraphrase, in which the young man appears as such (though the context shows that he was regarded as an angel), and in order to connect the two narratives an account is given of his descent from heaven into the tomb.

Similarly, with regard to the message delivered to the women. The original Marcan form implies an appearance to the disciples in Galilee, and this has been kept in Matthew, which also has the Galilean tradition. But neither Luke, John, nor "Peter" could give the message in this form, because they had adopted inconsistent views. Luke and John preferred the Jerusalem tradition; therefore in Luke the message announcing an appearance in Galilee is changed into a reference to a prophecy in Galilee; while in John the message is characteristically spiritualised—not Galilee, but the Father, is the home to which Jesus goes. In each case the message is thus made consistent with the Jerusalem tradition. In "Peter," here clearly using

Mark, an intermediate form is found. The message runs: "He is risen and gone thither from whence he was sent," which surely in "Peter" means heaven, but would not be an inadequate paraphrase of Galilee.

So far there is no difficulty in showing a definite development of the tradition, starting from Mark and proceeding to elaborations varying in detail, but to a great extent similar in principle. There remains the peculiar Johannine feature which states that Mary Magdalene, after finding the tomb empty, returned to the disciples, and that two of them investigated and proved the truth of her statement. Here, again, the signs of combination in the narrative seem to be visible and to explain the facts; there was a tendency, as Matthew and Luke show, to depart from Mark and assert that the women did, after all, find the disciples and narrate their experience. But what was to be the content of their narrative? As has just been shown, there were two lines of development in the tradition of the young man. According to one the women saw someone—whether angel or man is indifferent for this purpose—who said that the tomb was empty. According to another they saw the risen Lord. Thus there would necessarily be two forms of the story as to what the women reported: according to one the main point of the report would be that the tomb was empty;

according to the other that they had seen the risen Lord. Combine these two stories and you have the method of the Johannine account. They are reconciled by being made consecutive instead of alternative. It is exactly the same phenomenon which, as Westcott and Hort taught us, is to be found again and again on a smaller scale in the history of the text of the New Testament. The only fact which at first seems to stand out against this explanation is that St Peter and the beloved disciple actually came to the tomb and investigated it. But once the view was adopted that the women carried their report to the disciples, it was surely an inevitable corollary that the disciples went to see for themselves. It is true that neither Matthew nor Luke (unless Luke xxiv. 12 be genuine) actually gives an account of this incident, but the latter implies it in the words put into the mouth of the disciples on the way to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 24).

Thus traditional probability shows strong positive reasons for regarding Mark as the earliest tradition. Negatively it also supports it; for if the method followed above be reversed and an attempt be made to start from John, or even from Luke, Mark remains inexplicable. If the earliest tradition or the one most resembling the facts be the Johannine, and if Mark be a development from it, one has to assume that in this

case tradition grew in a wholly unprecedented way, became simpler instead of more complicated, and omitted marvels instead of multiplying them.

Intrinsic probability is also on the side of Mark rather than on that of any other extant account. It is in itself more probable that the women saw a young man at the tomb than an angel; that they found the tomb open than that they saw it opened by an angel; and it is surely more probable that the disciples had scattered and were either in hiding or in flight, and therefore not to be found, than that they were still gathered together and had no fear in coming to the tomb to examine it. Thus intrinsic and traditional probability agree in representing Mark as the earliest tradition extant.

The question now arises whether one may accept this as equivalent to the original tradition which obtained in the Church from the moment that the disciples—probably when they returned from Galilee in the conviction that the Lord had been raised—rejoined the women and heard their story. It is at this point that the evidence of St Paul becomes important. It will be noticed that he never mentions the story of the empty tomb, or the experience of the women. The question therefore arises—Does this silence of St Paul mean that he did not know, or that he rejected this story, or what

other inference may be drawn? The most obvious answer is that, if St Paul did not mention this story, it must have been because he was ignorant of it. At first hearing this argument seems unanswerable. The usual teaching as to the Resurrection which we have all heard from childhood starts from the story of the empty tomb. The impression made on our minds is that this is the foundation of the whole doctrine, and not one in a thousand teachers (in England) would ever expound the Resurrection without beginning with the experience of the women. Therefore it is natural to suppose that if St Paul had known their story, he also would have begun in the same way. Personally I held this view until I was actually engaged in reducing it to words and explaining its cogency, but the necessity thus laid upon me forced me to a change of view.

But such an assumption is far from justifiable, and ought never to be made in considering St Paul's relation to the story of the women at the grave.

The proper starting-point for any treatment of the problem is the result reached in chapter i., that St Paul believed in the Resurrection because of the appearances of the risen Lord, but dated the Resurrection on the third day either because he believed that the Old Testament had foretold this day, or because he thought that some other event, not in itself direct evidence for the

Resurrection, pointed to this date. The question is also conditioned by the fact that St Paul in 1 Cor. xv. is quoting the formula which represented the belief of the first disciples. Thus, so far as St Paul is personally concerned, we have not so much to ask why he believed that the Resurrection took place on the third day, as whether there is any reason for thinking that a knowledge of the story of the experience of the women is incompatible either with his expressed belief, or with his silence on the subject in 1 Cor. xv.

Incompatible with his expressed belief it certainly is not; it is almost as certain as anything which is not definitely stated can be that St Paul's doctrine of the transubstantiation of flesh and blood into spirit implied a belief in an empty tomb. It is therefore impossible to think that he would have found any difficulty in believing the story of the experience of the women or in agreeing with their interpretation of that experience.

Nor is St Paul's silence on the subject incompatible with his knowledge of the story of the women. In considering this question it must not be overlooked that what is important is not the actual chronological order of events, but the part which they played in the development of Christian belief. Now, if one assumes that the Marcan account is trustworthy, the growth of

Christian belief must have been something of this kind. After the Crucifixion, or even before it, the disciples scattered in terror and dejection. They made their way to their homes. The band of disciples was broken up, and the individual members of it lost touch with each other. But in Galilee St Peter and probably other disciples had experiences which convinced them that their Master still lived. Under the influence of this new-found faith they returned to Jerusalem, and in its light certain women interpreted an experience which they had had on the "third morning," but had previously narrated to no one. They had not seen the Lord, and their experience was in no sense the origin of the belief in the Resurrection; but it was taken to prove that the Resurrection was accomplished on the third day, and that the tomb was empty by that time. Thus in the formula which St Paul quotes to the Corinthians, the experience of the women was condensed by the disciples into "was raised on the third day," just as the experience of St Peter was condensed into "was seen of Peter." The absence of details in the one case is exactly paralleled in the other.

Was there any reason why St Paul should have supplied these details, had he known them? Surely not. He was not trying to convince the Corinthians that the Lord was risen; he was reminding them that he

had already convinced them on this point, by quoting the formula which he had previously proved to their satisfaction to represent the facts. This formula is not quoted by him in order to prove that Christ rose; but in order to serve as an indisputable premiss in his argument that the dead will rise. The feeling that St Paul and the early Church must have laid stress on the experience of the women is not justified by facts. Both in the case of the disciples and of St Paul the belief in the Resurrection was due to their own experience; it was therefore improbable that they would emphasise the experience of anyone else, even though they might use it to fix the date of the Resurrection. But, it may be said, do not the gospels prove that the disciples, apart from St Paul, did put considerable emphasis on the fact of the empty tomb? The answer seems to be that this is true of the later gospels but not of Mark. In the former there is an obvious tendency to "write up" the story of the women's experience, and to emphasise the fact that it proves that the tomb was empty. But in Mark this tendency is absent. The women do not see the risen Lord; do not see for themselves that the tomb was empty, and do not report their experience, so as to make it the first evidence for the Resurrection. Moreover, Matthew and the Gospel of Peter give us a valuable hint that

the story of the empty tomb, and the emphasis which was laid on it, came into discussion at a later period, in connexion with the controversy between the Jews and Christians. That this controversy does not belong to the earliest period is psychologically certain. At the beginning the Jews were not prepared to argue; they persecuted. Only later, when Christianity had obtained a firm footing, can argument and controversy have begun. This is important because it throws light on two points. In the first place, it explains why the story of the empty tomb became more important later on than it was at first. For the first Christians the Resurrection was an established fact, proved by their own experience. As was shown in chapter i., to St Paul, and probably to Christians generally, this certainly implied the empty tomb; whether the women went to the tomb or not, it must have been an implicit article of their belief that as a matter of fact the tomb was empty. But this was not the ground of belief in the Resurrection; it was a deduction from it. Later on, when the Jews could no longer persecute, and were driven to argument, the question whether the tomb really was empty was suggested; the experience of the women was brought more and more into the foreground, and, as is usual in controversies, it was made more and more definite. In the second place, it explains why

there is no trace of any attempt to investigate the tomb. The emptiness of the grave only became a matter of controversy at a period when investigation could not have been decisive. It must be remembered that, according to Maimonides, three days was the limit of the time after death for accepting evidence as to identity (cf. J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Jo. xi. 39).

The result of an examination of the problem from the side of St Paul's evidence thus seems to point to the fact that it is not impossible that in the formula of Christian teaching which he quotes in 1 Cor. xv. 4, "was raised on the third day" is a reference to the experience to the women. Those who are influenced by the relation of St Paul's teaching to Mark (cf. pp. 37-41) will naturally be the more ready to accept this opinion. The alternative is to say that he, or rather the authors of the formula which he quotes, deduced the third day from scripture, aided perhaps by current belief and by contemporary folklore.

St Paul's own writings give us no sufficient help in choosing between these two alternatives. The decisive word must be left to the consideration of Mark, and if the second alternative be taken, and we say that the mention of the third day is due to other causes than the experience of the women, we have to explain the existence of Mark. If it be not based on history, it

must be based on mythology. The latter theory seems to be adopted by a little band of scholars (of whom Cheyne, Gunkel, Winckler, Jensen, and Zimmern are perhaps the best known names) who have made a special study of the folklore of the period and of the East generally.

The outlines of this folklore or mythology are these: primitive nations regarded the processes of nature as the life of a god, and told the story of the seasons in terms of his life and death. Thus the spring equinox was resurrection of the sun god; and the new moon was the death and resurrection after three days (when the moon again became visible) of the moon deity. The death of the solar deity Marduk was spoken of, and his grave shown in Babylonia, and the grave of Zeus was preserved in Crete. That this type of folklore had its influence in the formulation of the doctrine of the Resurrection is probable. It is quite likely that it was partly the reason why the early Christians were ready to accept such stories as the descent of the angel to open the tomb, and to regard the experience of the women as fixing the Resurrection on the third day, and a return must be made to this point in the next chapter. But if it be suggested that this explains the genesis of the story in Mark of the women's visit to the tomb, it is surely

insufficient. In the Marcan form of that story we miss all the points which we should have expected—and the later traditions support our expectation—to have been emphasised in a story which was the product of folklore. It is never stated but only implied in Mark that the Resurrection was on the third day: no emphasis is laid on the emptiness of the grave; no description of the Resurrection is given. If Mark be a product of mythological folklore, it is unique of its kind, for it is a story produced by mythology which forgets to mention the mythological points, so that to the men for whom it was intended it seemed so tame, that they practically rewrote it when they repeated it. It is a child whose likeness to its parents was only brought out after it had undergone severe plastic operations. No form of research is more necessary than the study of folklore if we are to understand the growth of early Christian doctrine; but it is at present largely pioneer work, and pioneers do not always see the proportion of their results. In this case they probably have not sufficiently taken into consideration the results of previous literary criticism, and, seeing the tokens of folklore in the later narratives of the Resurrection, have applied their conclusion to all the forms, without noting that these tokens do not appear in the earliest narrative. Folklore had, and

has, immense influence in the development of tradition, but it often works on a nucleus of history. I submit that this is the case with the story of the women's visit to the tomb, and that Mark represents the nucleus which folklore developed, not a myth which it produced.

Thus it seems probable that the Marcan tradition is not only the oldest form of the story of the experience of the women, but really represents almost exactly the form in which it was from the first current among Christians. There is no sufficient reason for thinking that St Paul's silence implies his ignorance of it, and the phrase "on the third day" in the formula which he quotes probably refers to it.

This statement must, however, be modified in one rather important respect. We may with confidence accept Mark generally as the earliest tradition, representing what the women told the disciples, when they met after the Resurrection, and after the appearances of the Lord. But this does not mean that emphasis can be laid on the precise statement of the words which the women heard from the young man at the grave. For this caution justification can be found partly in the literary custom of the first century, partly in human nature.

In the first century, if a writer wished to say that a

message was delivered of a certain description, he was more than likely to give an exact message in *oratio directa*. He did not necessarily mean that he was giving a word for word report. In our time we have a different literary method, and only use this style when we wish to claim verbal accuracy, and it is necessary not to judge a first century document by this standard. Thus it is quite probable that the message in Mark only represents the judgment of the writer as to what was said. Moreover, if literary convention has changed since the first century, human nature has remained in many respects wonderfully the same, and we may therefore appeal to daily experience to justify the statement that few people are capable of giving evidence as to what they have seen and heard, without being affected by their knowledge from other sources, as to what, as a matter of fact, they ought to have seen and heard. Therefore it is impossible to be certain how much of the message of the young man in Mark represents what he really said, and how much really represents (a) what the women, under the influence of their belief in the Resurrection, thought that the young man said; (b) what St Mark, under the influence in turn of his knowledge, thought that the women must have reported.

Thus one may feel certain that the women really

saw someone at the tomb; it is quite probable that he told them that Jesus was not there, and that, from the first moment when the women related it, this statement was taken as a message announcing the Resurrection. But it is impossible to feel any confidence that the precise form in which that message is reported in Mark really belongs to the earliest tradition, still less that it accurately represents the exact words of the young man.

(3) *The appearances of the Lord.*—Of the appearances of the Lord we have in the gospels two main accounts—the Galilean, to which belong Mark, Matthew, John xxi. and the Gospel of Peter; and the Jerusalem, to which belong Luke, Acts, and John xx. Besides these, there is a statement in 1 Cor. xv. which cannot be identified with either of the two accounts in the gospels, as it gives no statement as to locality, but is peculiarly valuable for the light it throws on the number and character of the appearances. There are thus three main problems which have to be discussed—the number of the appearances, the places in which they were seen, and the character which they bore.

1. *The number of the appearances.*—St Paul speaks of six appearances, including one to himself. There is no reason to suppose that this list was intended to be exhaustive; but it is probable that the first mentioned

is intended to be the actual first. The question then arises, how far it is possible to identify any of these appearances with those in the gospels.

The first is an appearance to St Peter. This agrees with what certainly was the contents of the Galilean account in its most original form, but owing to the loss of Mark at this point no details are available, except that it was probably on the Sea of Galilee. If the text be trustworthy and the meaning certain (see pp. 101 ff.) of Luke xxiv. 34, it is possible that this appearance was also narrated in some form of the Jerusalem account; but, if so, the narrative has not survived.

The second appearance in the Pauline list is "to the twelve." This statement cannot be taken numerically; "the twelve" means the members of that band of original disciples whom Jesus chose, rather than that twelve were actually present. This, therefore, may probably be identified with the appearance to the other disciples in Galilee, which was probably recorded in the Marcan document. Perhaps the end of Matthew is a late version of this incident. It might also refer to the appearance recorded in Luke xxiv. 36 ff. and John xx. 19 ff.

The third appearance—to five hundred brethren—seems to correspond to nothing in the gospels: but it has been suggested that it is a variant of the account

of the day of Pentecost in Acts, and there is much that is attractive in the view that the latter was originally a Christophany.¹

The arguments for this theory are, in the main, as follows. In the first place, it is improbable that so remarkable an appearance as that alluded to by St Paul should have been passed over entirely in the historical narratives; but it seems impossible to identify it with any of the appearances mentioned in the gospels. Secondly, the account of the day of Pentecost in the Acts is probably confused on some points; it must have reached St Luke only after the tradition had passed through the usual processes of development in transmission. Especially is this the case so far as the incident of glossolalia is concerned. At one point the disciples seem to the crowd to be drunk—and this is the impression which the speech of St Peter is intended to answer—and therefore incomprehensible; at another point they seem to be speaking with such supernatural clearness that they are comprehensible to every one in spite of differences of nationality. Whether it be true, as is sometimes said, that the second view is later, and contradictory to the account of glossolalia in 1 Cor. xiv., is here immaterial. In any case the account in Acts

¹ See especially the admirable statement of the case in E. von Dobschutz's *Ostern und Pfingstern*, pp. 31 ff.

shows signs of confusion. Finally, it cannot be well denied that there was a tendency in early Christian thought to identify the Spirit with the glorified Lord, and it is characteristic of the Lucan narratives to prefer speaking of the Spirit, while St Paul has rather more a tendency to speak of Christ. The really crucial passage for its proof is Rom. viii., in which Spirit, Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ, and Christ, seem to be used practically as synonyms for the source of new life which is the basis of the Christian religion. To this may be added not only 2 Cor. iii. 17 ("Now the Lord is the Spirit") from the Pauline epistles, but the following less direct but quite important places. (a) In the Apocalypse, the speaker who dictates the letters to the churches is clearly Christ; yet in the letters themselves he is identified with the Spirit. "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." (b) Although the whole question of the Christology of Hermas is full of problems, and requires more attention than it has yet received, it is clear that, in a strictly analogous way to the usage of the Apocalypse, the Shepherd of Hermas (cf. especially Sim. 5) identifies the Son of God sometimes with the Spirit, sometimes, by implication at least, with Christ. These instances are sufficient to show that in the beginning the distinction between Christ and the Spirit was not so clearly marked

as it became later on, owing perhaps to the necessity for sharper distinction imposed by the anti-docetic controversy. The suggestion therefore is, that it is possible that St Paul may have regarded as a Christophany what St Luke preferred to describe as a manifestation of the gift of the Spirit.

I am inclined to think that there is much probability in this view; but if it be correct, it must be admitted that the form of presentation in Luke has considerably affected the narrative. There is a wide difference between the "tongues of fire" and an "appearance" of Christ, even though there be a certain resemblance to the dazzling light which St Paul saw at his conversion. Thus it would be rash to build anything on the foundation of the identification which it attempts to establish.

The fourth appearance—to St James—is not mentioned in any of the Canonical Gospels. There is an account of it in the gospel according to the Hebrews (see p. 163 f.), but one cannot say whether this is merely an imaginative description based entirely on St Paul's words, or preserves an independent tradition.

The fifth appearance—to all the apostles—cannot be identified with any safety with anything in the gospels. It has been regarded by some writers as a mere doublet of the appearance to the twelve, and even regarded as a gloss, but such critics forget that in St Paul's time an

“apostle” was not the same thing as “a member of the twelve.” The evidence of the Didache suggests that even in the next generation an apostle was simply a travelling preacher, who went from place to place trying to spread the gospel.

The sixth appearance—to St Paul—is clearly that mentioned in the Acts, and discussed on pp. 116 ff.

Thus no definite results can be obtained, except the mutual confirmation of the Pauline and Galilean accounts regarding the appearance to St Peter, and the fact that there was certainly more than one appearance. The absence of any other certain identifications is, however, less important, as there is little reason to think that either St Paul or the gospels give, or profess to give, exhaustive narratives.

2. *The place of the appearances.*—For this point the Pauline narrative fails us, as it contains no indications of place at all. We have, therefore, only the Galilean and Jerusalem narratives to compare. As they stand these accounts are incompatible with one another. The Marcan account, which, so far as it goes, is our best evidence for the Galilean tradition, undoubtedly described the first appearance of the risen Lord as seen by the disciples after they had reached Galilee. On the other hand, the Jerusalem tradition describes the disciples as seeing the Lord in the neighbourhood of

that city, and (at least in Luke) the view that they had ever left it is expressly contradicted.

It is plain that the disciples could not be in two places at once, and the relations of these two contradictory narratives to one another afford a difficult problem. It is necessary not merely to establish the relative probability of each, but also to explain their origin.

There are really four ways of dealing with the question: (a) The method of antiquity was, of course, to ignore the contradictions and force the narratives into a connected whole. Putting aside such extravagances as a multiplication of the visits of the women to the tomb (so that in the end it appeared that no two gospels had related the same visit), this system of interpretation implied a journey to Galilee, undertaken by the disciples not as a consequence of their panic, but in the expectation of seeing the Lord, followed by an immediate return to Jerusalem. Among modern attempts to commend this view may be cited Dr Latham's *The Risen Master*. The decisive objection to this view is not merely the inherent improbability of the reconstruction of history which it implies, but the fact that the method of the growth of tradition is always synthetic.¹ If, then, we wish to go behind the extant

¹ Using the word, of course, in its simple sense of "joining together."

documents, the result of carrying on a still further process of synthesis will probably be to make confusion worse confounded. What is needed is analysis, not synthesis. The latter would only be justifiable if there were reason to think that the gospels are the *disjecta membra* of an originally single tradition, and that Tatian was on the right lines when he joined them together.

(b) Pursuing the analytic method, one has to choose between the Galilean and Jerusalem narratives, and explain the origin of the rejected tradition. Many critics, especially formerly, have chosen the Jerusalem narrative. The best example of this line of argument is perhaps to be found in Loofs' *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihre Wert* (Hefte zur christliche Welt, 33). According to this theory, the Galilean narrative is the result of a tendency to emphasise the Galilean ministry. This would be plausible if it were correct; but it seems much nearer the truth to say that there was, on the contrary, rather a tendency to emphasise the Jerusalem ministry, though here, as so often, much turns on the value given to the Fourth Gospel.

(c) A different type of suggestion has been made by Dr A. Resch in his *Aussercanonische Paralleltex-te zu Mt. und Mc.*, pp. 381 ff. He thinks that the Galilean tradition is due to a confusion in Aramaic, owing to the

similarity of words meaning "a district" and "Galilee,"—a confusion which actually exists in the LXX. of Ezek. xlvi. 8. This theory is supported by mediæval traditions¹ which bear witness to a place near Jerusalem called Galilee. It is suggested, therefore, that the message of the young man in Mc. xvi. 7 really refers to this place, and not the province Galilee. This is very ingenious, but there is no trace of evidence that the early Christians confused Galilee with anything else, and the mediæval tradition only shows that the necessity of harmonising discrepant narratives had led men before the time of Resch to bring Galilee to the Mount of Olives, though it was left for him to notice the curious linguistic accident which helps his theory.

(d) The rejection of these three theories leads up to the view which is probably correct. This starts by recognising that both intrinsically and traditionally the Galilean narrative is preferable. It is, as was said on p. 190, much more probable that the disciples fled to Galilee than that they remained in Jerusalem, and some such event as the appearance of the Lord is necessary to explain their return to Jerusalem, and the existence very shortly afterwards of the church in that city.

¹ *Antonius de Cremona, Itinerarium ad Sepulcrum Domini*, a. 1327, 1330, ed. Reinhold Röhricht in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, Bd. xiii. ; and *Odorici de Foro Julii Liber de terra sancta in the Peregrinatos medii ævi quatuor*, ed. 1873.

Traditionally, the existence of the two narratives in the gospels is easier to explain on the assumption that the Galilean is the more original. The whole tendency of early Christian thought was to emphasise Jerusalem and to forget Galilee, and one of the most curious, though least doubtful facts in the history of the Church, is that, though the chief activity of Christ was in Galilee, the Christian Church was from the beginning the church of Jerusalem and not of Capernaum. Why this was so is one of the missing links in the chain of early history; but the fact seems certain, that instead of the few and probably later disciples in Jerusalem (one thinks of the house at Bethany, and the family of Mark) going to join the disciples in Galilee, the latter came back to Jerusalem and took the lead in the community there. It is a sign of the early nature of the Galilean tradition that it recalls the memory of that brief visit to Galilee, which was so important for Peter and the other disciples, but from its short duration was so likely to be lost sight of in a tradition originating in Jerusalem. It is also worth noting that the tradition that Mark derived his information from Peter the Galilean is strongly corroborated by the fact that Mark, though a Jerusalemite and not an original disciple, narrated this incident. But just as the narrative of a Galilean disciple might be expected

to preserve the memory of this visit to Galilee, and accurately to record that the first appearance to St Peter took place there, so a narrative emanating from the community which grew up in Jerusalem would naturally foreshorten the story. The appearances of the Lord would be recounted; but the circumstances would be partly confused and partly elaborated by the aid of the imagination. As time went on, and the disciples became more and more identified with Jerusalem, it would come to be assumed that they had seen the Lord near that city; Galilee would either be squeezed out of the tradition altogether, as it is in Luke, or brought in as an appendix after the main narrative, as was done by the redactor who added John xxi.; or, if someone happened to be basing his narrative on the Marcan document, he would regard the message of the young man as a command to go into Galilee, and so produce the distortion of Mark which is exhibited in Matthew.

Thus it is extremely probable that there has been a considerable confusion of localities in the traditions which have reached us, and that some incidents which really happened in Galilee have been placed in Jerusalem. But it is improbable that this will account for the whole of the Jerusalem tradition. If the disciples saw the risen Lord in Galilee, there is no

reason why they should not have seen him again after they returned to Jerusalem; nor is there any reason why the disciples, who, being Jerusalemites, had never fled to Galilee, should not have had the same experience as the Galileans. This argument holds true whatever view be taken of the appearances: if they were real and objective, there is no reason why they should have been confined to any one locality, and if they were the merest hallucination, there is still less cause for thinking that it was peculiar to any one circle of disciples.

It is therefore a justifiable question whether it is possible in the Lucan and Johannine accounts to distinguish between details which are really only a confused version of the Galilean appearances, and those which really refer to the experiences of the community at Jerusalem. But it seems doubtful whether any means of satisfactorily answering this question, except quite generally, can ever be found. So far as the appearance to the disciples recorded in Luke xxiv. 33 ff. and John xx. 19 ff. is represented as on the third day and as the first to the apostles, it is surely a confusion with the Galilean tradition, for the disciples did not return to Jerusalem until after they had seen the Lord, and on the third day were not in Jerusalem. But a difficult question arises

if one asks whether the tradition may not be correct in representing the first appearance to all the disciples assembled together as taking place in Jerusalem. It is probable that there were appearances in Galilee before the return to Jerusalem, but was there any definite assembly in Galilee which saw the Lord, or was this first possible in Jerusalem? I do not see how this question can be answered in the absence of more definite knowledge of the Galilean tradition. It is perhaps slightly more probable that the disciples assembled in Galilee, but it is impossible to lay emphasis on this, and the first appearance to the *collected* disciples may have been in Jerusalem.

Equally impossible to answer is the suggestion that the message of the risen Lord was originally connected with an appearance in Galilee. Of this message we have three versions, in Matthew, in Luke, and in John, which run as follows:—

MATT. xxviii. 8.

All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations [baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost]: teaching them

LUKE xxiv. 46.

He said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning

JOHN xx. 21.

Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit: whose

to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

from Jerusalem. Ye are witnesses of these things. And, behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city until ye be clothed with power from on high.

soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

Probably no one would claim that there is any written source in any language underlying these three, but the three resemble each other more closely than we would at first imagine, and may well represent an originally single tradition. Between Luke and John the connexion is obvious, though even here it is improbable that there is any direct literary dependence. Luke xxiv. 47 is clearly parallel to John xx. 23, and in each case the forgiveness of sins probably refers to baptism, two things which, for the early Church, were inseparable from each other. The differences are chiefly due to Luke's tendency to insist on the fulfilment of prophecy, and on his view that the gift of the Spirit, which conditioned the forgiveness of sins, was not conferred till later. What the origin of his view may have been is immaterial for the present point.

The connexion of these Jerusalem traditions with the Galilean narrative in Matthew is not superficially so plain. As was shown on p. 87, the command

to baptize is probably a textual interpolation, but to early Christians the idea of "making disciples," "preaching the gospel," and "forgiving sins" were largely identical, and all of them were bound up with baptism. Moreover, it is almost certain that Matt. xxviii. 20 is another and perhaps more primitive way of describing the gift of the Spirit. Later theology made a distinction between the "indwelling Christ" and "the Spirit"; but the earliest writers either did not do so at all, or only at intervals. In Rom. viii., for instance, we have the phrases, "those who are in Christ," "those who are according to the Spirit," "in the Spirit," "the Spirit of Christ," "Christ in us," all used in the same context, and apparently without any special difference being made in the meaning (cf. p. 204 f.). Thus it is probable that to many Christians of the first generation, "I am with you always" meant exactly the same as "Receive the Holy Spirit."

Thus the identity in the meaning of these passages suggests that there is a common fact lying behind them to which they all refer. What this common fact was is impossible to define. The two main possibilities are: (a) that on one of his appearances the risen Lord really delivered a commission to his disciples of which the three gospels quoted above represented three

traditions; (b) that from the beginning the disciples felt conscious that the spread of the gospel was the responsibility laid on them by their Master, and this consciousness was translated into the form of a definite commission given on a definite occasion.

If the former hypothesis be accepted, it is necessary to choose between Galilee and Jerusalem, and it is more probable that a Galilean episode, such as is described in Matthew, has been transposed to Jerusalem than that the reverse development has taken place. But I think that the second hypothesis is really the more satisfactory. Nothing can be more certain than that the first Christians were filled with the conviction that they had been entrusted with the mission of preaching the gospel, and it is quite in keeping both with the literary methods of their age, and with the usual development of tradition, that this conviction should have been recorded in the vivid and graphic form of a speech of the risen Lord. It is common knowledge that historians always used the device of putting a speech into the mouth of a prominent character when they wished to express his motives or policy. Historically, then, this is a probable explanation. I would add that theologically it is the vocation in the soul, not the incident with which it was connected, which is important, and the existence

of this vocation is a necessary postulate to explain the growth of the Christian Church, first in Jerusalem, and afterwards elsewhere.

Similarly uncertain judgment must be passed on the story of Thomas in John xx. 24 ff. It may be regarded as an amplification of Luke xxiv. 41 in the form of a story; for there was certainly a tendency in this direction in the early Church, and there is something more than a suspicion that several incidents in John are doctrine expounded in the form of history rather than a record of actual fact. Against this it may be urged that the very prominent rôle which St Thomas plays in later tradition is more intelligible if he was from the beginning connected with some special vision. If this latter view be accepted, is it not more probable that it originally belonged to the Galilean tradition? The question depends so completely on other almost insoluble problems that it is impossible to answer it, and it must be left open. The main question—whether the incident is historical at all—similarly depends on the point which will be dealt with in the next section, as to the character of the appearances of the Lord. If, as will be argued, the suggestion that the appearances contained evidence of a body of flesh and blood is really a dogmatic addition, and not part of the earliest tradition, it is

plain that the story of Thomas is so completely bound up with this suggestion that it becomes increasingly probable that it has no foundation in fact.

There is more to be said for the view that the story of the two disciples who went to Emmaus really represents an experience of two members of the Jerusalem community. It reads as though it were based on fact, and it can hardly have been transferred from Galilee. The mention of Emmaus is decisive on this point. At the same time, it has probably suffered in transmission, and cannot be accepted without some allowance for this process. As it stands, it refers to "the third day" and represents the two disciples as going for rather a long walk, and returning late in the evening to the eleven disciples who were gathered together in Jerusalem. If one accept the Marcan tradition that the disciples scattered and fled after the Crucifixion, this last detail is impossible. The suggestion which seems to have the most probability is that this incident is an example of foreshortening of the narrative spoken of on p. 211. The disciples all scattered to their own homes. Among others, the two disciples who lived at Emmaus returned to that town. But they had the experience of an appearance of the risen Lord and returned to Jerusalem. Meanwhile the same thing had happened in Galilee to the Galileans, and the two sets of disciples

met in Jerusalem. The strength of this suggestion may best be seen by asking how St Luke or any other early Christian writer would have dealt with such a story if he had been imbued with the Jerusalem tradition. In this tradition the absence of the narrative of the flight of St Peter and the other Galileans paved the way for a shortening of the time, and necessitated the belief that the eleven were to be found in Jerusalem on "the third day," while the view that the Church had even then its centre in Jerusalem, and that no one had left it, would naturally have made what was really a flight home to Emmaus become a walk into the country to that place. Moreover, as will be shown later, the emphasis on the bodily form of the risen Lord, as testified to by his eating with them, is a feature which of all others is most probably due to the doctrinal views of the anti-Docetic circle to which St Luke belonged. Thus the story of the disciples who went to Emmaus is probably a genuine remnant of the original tradition of the Church at Jerusalem, which has suffered a little in the process of transmission. Whether it had originally the form suggested is of course quite hypothetical; but what is certain is that as it stands it is contradictory to the Marcan account, and unless the latter be rejected, some such hypothesis must be put forward.

3. *The character of the appearances.*—What kind of

appearances were those of the risen Lord? The Galilean tradition has not reached us in a sufficiently well-preserved form to enable us to use its evidence on this point. We have, however, the Pauline account with which to compare the Jerusalem tradition. According to the former, the risen Lord was not flesh and blood; and the natural inference from St Paul's words is that he knew of no difference on this point between his own experience and that of others. The risen Lord, exalted to heaven, was a spirit. St Paul no doubt connected this fact with his doctrine of a transubstantiation of flesh and blood at the Resurrection into spirit. But for the present purpose that is unimportant; it is the explanation which St Paul gave of the fact, not the fact itself. It is the latter which is important, and on that point there is no room for doubt. The whole of St Paul's argument that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven," and that "we shall be changed" would be meaningless if the special instance of Resurrection on which he based his reasoning had been in reality a Resurrection of flesh and blood.

Against this must be set the Jerusalem narrative both in Luke and John, which quite as certainly represents the risen Lord as flesh and blood, in just the same sense as he was before. No deduction needs to be made from this statement because the risen Lord appeared

in a room where the doors were closed. Such an act would in the first century have been regarded as a miracle, just as walking on the water was, or as the sudden separation of Philip and the eunuch in Acts viii. 39; but in no degree as a proof that the person who did such things was not flesh and blood in the ordinary sense.

On such a question as this, one can scarcely speak of intrinsic probability, though to most people's minds the Pauline account will seem the more likely to be true. The decisive point is that traditional probability is strongly in favour of the Pauline account, not merely as the older, but because the Jerusalem narrative can be explained as due, so far as this feature in it is concerned, to the controversy with Docetism, even though our knowledge of the origin and early history of Docetism is small.

It would seem that some teachers of Christianity made a distinction between the Christ, *i.e.* the principle of the new life (almost if not quite identical with the Spirit), and the human Jesus, and denied that the Christ was come in the flesh, thus reducing his body to an appearance (*δοκεῖν*). This type of doctrine is of importance for understanding the Resurrection narratives. Putting all other subordinate questions aside, its origin is to be found in an attempt to explain the life of Jesus

in the terms of their experience of the risen Lord. It was surely natural enough for anyone who only knew the risen Lord—the Lord who was the Spirit—to think that he had never been different, and to regard the ministry in Galilee as also the work of one who had never been a man of flesh and body. In other words, the underlying principle of Docetism was that the Christ before the Resurrection was of the same physical nature as the Christ after the Resurrection, and it started by regarding the latter as the norm. The other party, which in the end conquered, reversed this process. They made the Christ before the Resurrection their norm, and, appealing to their experience and to that of the apostles, as the writer of 1 John does, they insisted that the risen Lord was flesh and blood after the Resurrection, just as he had been before. In so doing they were probably wrong, but no one will doubt that a writer would not have hesitated at that time to interpret the document he was using, or the tradition he was repeating, in the light of the view which he held on this point. The Docetics interpreted the ante-Resurrection life of the Lord in a Docetic manner—the Acts of John, though belonging to a later generation, are an example of the way in which they did it—and the anti-Docetics interpreted the appearance of the risen Lord in anti-Docetic fashion. Fortunately the gospel of Mark

remains as a proof of the true humanity of Jesus before his death, and the writings of St Paul give us the needed correction to the materialism of the Lucan and Johannine accounts of the risen Lord.

As has already been said, the Galilean account has not survived in any form which gives us help ; but after deciding that the Pauline is irreconcilable with and preferable to the Lucan-Johannine, and represents the risen Lord as no longer flesh and blood, we may go on to ask whether there is any probability that the Marcan account, if it had survived, would have agreed with the Pauline or with the alternative version. It is exceedingly unlikely that the preaching of Peter on this point differed from that of Paul ; it is far more likely that his account of the appearances of the risen Lord agreed with Paul's in representing it as not flesh and blood. Otherwise it is impossible to understand the language of 1 Cor. xv., in connexion with the fact that St Paul knew St Peter, and derived his information from him. It is possible that St Mark himself, as distinct from his source, came under the influence of anti-Docetism, just as St Luke, the disciple of St Paul, did, and that the lost conclusion was in this respect of the same character as the Lucan and Johannine narratives ; but against this possibility must be set the fact that one of the things which Papias noticed in Mark

was that he did not alter the tradition. Moreover, if it be conceded that the lost conclusion probably contained an account of an appearance of the risen Lord, not as flesh and blood, we have an intelligible reason why it disappeared. The reason which is generally given is the merely mechanical one that the last sheet or the end of the papyrus roll was lost. This might account for the disappearance of the conclusion from the Marcan tradition as represented in the Canon if that stood alone. But is it probable that it will account for the fact that St Luke abandoned¹ the Marcan source not quite at the same point but just previously? It is more probable that there was some deeper reason, which will fall in with the point which Professor Harnack has emphasised in *Lukas der Arzt*, that St Luke seems to have had a certain definite antipathy to St Mark, even though he used his writings. More than hypothesis it can never be, but it certainly is an hypothesis which explains the facts if we suppose that the end of Mark contained an account of an appearance in Galilee of the risen Lord in a form which was not that of flesh and blood. To St Luke, impressed with the value of the Jerusalem tradition, convinced that the disciples had

¹ Cf. p. 70 f. Of course if the rewriting of the message of the young man be merely Lucan, and not due to the use of a different tradition, the matter is different, and there is more to be said for the mechanical theory.

remained in Jerusalem, and influenced by a desire to controvert the Docetic error, this seemed an undesirable and even shocking view. He therefore simply suppressed it, and men like-minded with him did the same when the Marcan gospel came into the Canon. On the other hand, the Gospel of Peter, being Docetic in tendency, probably used the Marcan conclusion by preference, though freely working it over, and rewriting it. The Johannine gospel followed the Lucan precedent, but if chapter xxi. be not an addition by another hand, it is possible that it represents the attempt to explain the Galilean tradition, which was widely known, and defied efforts merely to ignore or to suppress it. The Matthean gospel seems to come from other circles. There is no trace in it of the Docetic controversy, and it is perhaps more probable that it is based on a copy of Mark, which had been already mutilated, for there is not much reason to think that the redactor used the lost conclusion, and there is no reason why he should not have done so had he known it.

Thus the result of a comparison of the narratives relating to the appearances of the risen Lord may be summed up as follows: It is certain that there were several appearances to the disciples, and almost certain that the first was to St Peter in Galilee. It is again almost certain that the appearances were not confined to

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? Galilee, but were the common experience of the disciples in various districts. These appearances were the reason of the reassembling of the disciples in Jerusalem, and of the establishment there of the Christian community. The oldest tradition, that of St Paul, implies that these appearances were not those of a body of flesh and blood, but of spirit; it is possible that the lost Galilean narrative was of the same character. But under the stress of the Docetic controversy the view gained ground that the risen Lord was of the same physical nature after the Resurrection as before, and that his appearances were those of a body of flesh and blood. The Lucan and Johannine accounts have been written under the influence of this view, though Luke seems to regard the Ascension as limiting the duration of this kind of appearance, while John does not make this distinction. Thus, though the fact of appearances is certain, it is impossible to establish the details, as the Galilean narrative was suppressed, and the Jerusalem narrative has survived only in documents which were written under the influence of the idea that the disciples did not separate or leave Jerusalem after the Crucifixion and before the appearances, and that the body of the risen Lord was of flesh and blood.

The question, therefore, which remains to be discussed in the next chapter is the value which ought to be

attached to this fact. The disciples believed that the Lord appeared to them after his death, and drew the conclusion that he had risen from the dead. Were they justified in doing this? And, if not, what alternative judgment can be passed on their experience?

(4) *The descent into Hades.*—The discussion of this subject falls for the most part outside the purpose of this book. It affords a fascinating chapter in the history of doctrine, but can, from the very nature of the case, have no claim to be regarded as history. In this respect it differs from the other narratives connected with the Resurrection. All refer to events which at least might have been witnessed by human beings on the earth if they had been present. But no mortal could give witness to the descent into Hades. The existence of Hades as a place is not to be established by the historical method, still less the descent into it. Therefore I shall not go outside the limits of my task, and attempt any full discussion either on doctrinal or on *Religionsgeschichtliche* lines, but shall merely sketch the way in which Christian thought seems to have produced this tradition, indicating the relations in which the few traces of it mentioned in the preceding chapters stand to one another.

There was throughout the world at this time a

widespread belief in the existence of a material Hades, a place under the ground in which the dead still had a shadowy existence; to this all descended at the moment of death. Moreover, in many forms of heathen religion there existed the story of a divine being who lived as man on earth, died, descended into Hades, and finally was exalted to Heaven. It is doubtful, and for the present purpose unnecessary, to inquire precisely how much effect this may have had on the formation of Christian doctrine; but it certainly must have had some, and it may have had much influence. It is in any case not less important that the acceptance of the view that the Resurrection did not take place until the third day gave rise to the question where the intervening time was spent. Considering the Jewish belief in Hades, the answer was inevitable that during this period the Lord was where the other dead were.

Early Christian literature also guarantees the existence of a third factor. As soon as men began to think out the consequences of their doctrine, the position of the righteous who had died in ignorance of Christ became a problem. Was it conceivable that men should eternally suffer who had led good lives, and had never heard of the gospel only because Christ had not been born in their time? Conscience revolted from the suggestion. One way out of the difficulty seems,

according to 1 Cor. xv. 29, to have been "baptism for the dead." Another suggestion, made in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Sim.* ix. 16, was that the disciples had the duty at their death of preaching and baptizing in Hades. But the most popular view was that Christ himself preached to the dead and liberated them from bondage. Of this we have clear traces in the question of the voice from Heaven and the answer given by the Cross in the Gospel of Peter, as well as in the preaching to the dead mentioned in 1 Peter iii. 19 and iv. 6. Not quite so clear, but almost certainly connected with this idea, is the reference in Matt. xxvii. 52 to a general resurrection of the dead in Jerusalem after the Resurrection of Christ. It represents the release of the souls imprisoned in Hades in consequence of the descent of Christ. But the most complete development is only found in later books, such as the second part of the *Acta Pilati*, which give graphic accounts of the descent into Hades and the events there, culminating in the resurrection of all the righteous dead, their baptism in the Jordan and entry into Paradise.

At what date this development of thought first came into Christian tradition it is impossible to say: there are no clear references to it in the New Testament, except the passages in 1 Peter which have been mentioned; but it is possible that Eph. iv. 9 10 may be so interpreted.

Much, of course, turns on the view taken of the date of Peter and of the authenticity of Ephesians, but the belief was so natural in the first century that there is no reason why St Paul or St Peter should not have shared it, though there is perhaps no definite proof that they did. It is, however, as was said above, unnecessary to discuss this question any further in the present book, which is concerned with historical evidence for the Resurrection, such as the descent into Hades is not.

(5) *The Ascension.*—Of this we have in early literature only two full accounts—in Acts and in the Gospel of Peter. In the other documents we have no definite description of the event, though in John and the longer conclusion of Mark we have references to it. In Matthew we have no description and no reference to it. In St Paul's epistles we have no description, but a number of references which show that the writer regarded Jesus as exalted to Heaven.

It will be convenient to begin with the importance of the Pauline evidence. From this it is plain that the early Church in St Paul's time regarded Heaven as the abode of Christ after his Resurrection. Moreover, when he writes in Rom. viii. 24 of "Jesus Christ who died, yea, rather was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God," the suggestion of his words is

that the exaltation to Heaven was the result of the Resurrection, and when he writes in Phil. i. 23 that he desires "to depart and be with Christ," he implies that that exaltation to Heaven will be shared by Christians after death. This implies or does not imply an Ascension into Heaven in proportion to the degree to which Heaven is regarded as a place or as a state of existence; but in the first century most people, probably including St Paul, regarded it quite definitely as a place, and thus the production of the story which gave an account of an Ascension was inevitable. Such stories are those in Acts and in the Gospel of Peter: the question is whether they are to be regarded merely as the result of this tendency, or whether any further substratum of fact is to be found in them.

As has been already said, the view of St Paul, probably shared by that circle of early disciples whose point of view is represented in the Galilean tradition preserved by Mark, was that through the Resurrection Christ was raised to Heaven and that the heavenly Christ afterwards appeared to his disciples. In the earliest tradition there was no account of the actual Resurrection, but only statements as to the grave and the appearances of the risen Lord; there was therefore no account of an actual Ascension to Heaven, but only the statement or implication of the fact that the Lord

was a heavenly being. In circles which kept the primitive doctrine that the risen Lord was not flesh and blood, there was no reason why this absence of any account either of the Resurrection, regarded as a raising from the dead, or of an exaltation to Heaven, should not be supplied by one narrative, for the two things were the same looked at from different points of view. This type of narrative is represented in the Gospel of Peter, which, though in other points later, and further removed from the earliest view, is so far more primitive that, owing to its Docetic doctrine, it had no temptation to make the risen Lord flesh and blood. As was shown on p. 222, the Docetics kept the primitive position on this point, though they departed from it in their doctrines as to the nature of the Lord before his death. Thus, though the Gospel of Peter is obviously late and corrupt, it may be taken to represent the primitive doctrine in so far as it regards the Resurrection and Ascension as two aspects of one event.

But just as this type of tradition was acceptable in Docetic circles, it was unacceptable in circles which were strongly anti-Docetic. For such the stress of controversy had necessitated the adoption of the position that the appearances had been of flesh and blood. But this position brought with it two difficulties. In the

first place, there was the abiding tradition of appearances, such as that to St Paul, which were not of flesh and blood. In the second, there was the fact that St Paul had said that flesh and blood could not enter the kingdom of Heaven,—a fact certainly important for St Luke, who had been his companion. The only way out of the difficulty was the introduction of a new factor. The Resurrection was separated from the Ascension, and it was held that there were two kinds of appearances, divided from one another by the Ascension. Those previous to it were of flesh and blood; those later than it were not. It is possible that the exact duration of the former period was not at first clearly defined; for, as was shown in chapter iii., there is good reason for thinking that St Luke himself changed his mind on the subject. When he wrote the gospel, he thought that the Ascension took place on the evening of the third day; but when he wrote the Acts, he thought that it was after forty days, a number which can hardly be pressed, as it was frequently used vaguely in the sense of a long time. But it is impossible to be certain of the text of Luke or of Acts, and though forty days became the popular belief, it is doubtful whether this was the cause or the effect of the statement in Acts.

However this may be, what is certain and important

is that in this way the fact of appearances of flesh and blood was maintained without abandoning St Paul's doctrine—flesh and blood did not enter the kingdom of Heaven, but were changed into spirit at the Ascension, as was seen by the later appearances to St Paul and perhaps to St Stephen. Such a theory seems to modern minds extraordinarily artificial; but it must be remembered that the implied transubstantiation from flesh into spirit is quite in accordance with St Paul's views. The only difference is that St Paul attributed this transubstantiation to the Resurrection, whereas St Luke transferred it to the Ascension. Moreover, the postponement and gradualness of the transubstantiation is more in accordance with Jewish thought than was the original teaching of St Paul. As the quotation from the Apocalypse of Baruch on p. 24 f. shows, the Jews expected the resurrection of the righteous dead in the form in which they had died in order to allow of recognition, followed after an interval by a change to a more glorious form. That is precisely the view which St Luke seems to have taken of the Resurrection of Christ, though it is certainly not that of St Paul, and the influence of Jewish thought was no doubt a helping factor in the development of the traditions as to the appearances of the risen Lord and the Ascension.

It is not impossible that the Fourth Gospel implies a somewhat different development, according to which the risen Christ remains flesh and blood even after the Ascension. Such is undoubtedly the implication of the narrative, for, strictly interpreted (see p. 136), it must mean that the Ascension took place between the appearance to St Mary Magdalene and the appearance to the doubting St Thomas. Certainly, too, it became the generally received doctrine that Christ took with him into Heaven the human flesh and blood which he had borne on earth, though this view was combined with the Lucan dating of the Ascension. But it would be too hazardous to press this point in the absence of any clearer indications in the Fourth Gospel; and it is safer to think that to the writer of the gospel the actual account of the Ascension, as of the Resurrection, was either unknown or unimportant. In this respect the Fourth Gospel is more conservative of the primitive standpoint than Luke, though it is further removed from it in associating flesh and blood even with the heavenly Christ. It is an interesting question, though outside the scope of the present study, how far this fact is connected with the relation of the two gospels to Paulinism.

The foregoing discussion gives an answer to the question whether traditional probability supports the

suggestion that either the Lucan or the pseudo-Petrine narrative of the Ascension is a primitive tradition. It supports neither, but suggests that both were due to the desire to give an account of the actual process of that exaltation of the Lord which was affirmed by the early Christians, and, in an age which regarded Heaven as a place, implied a definite ascension through the clouds. In the Acts this desire was partly modified by the influence of the Docetic controversy.

If traditional probability points to the rejection of the claim of Acts to represent an original tradition, intrinsic probability does nothing to reverse this judgment. There is nothing in the Acts which suggests any historical kernel except the Christian belief in the exaltation of Christ. The deferring of the Ascension has in itself been already discussed; the period of forty days is nothing more than a favourite Jewish number; and the Ascension in the clouds seems to be based on the story of Elijah; while the two men who speak to the disciples afterwards seem to be a reflection of the two men into whom the original young man at the tomb had been developed in the tradition used in Luke. It might indeed be urged that there was probably some feature in one of the appearances of the Lord which gave rise to a belief in his bodily ascension into Heaven through the sky. But this is

a suggestion which certainly carries no conviction, even if it admits no contradiction. It is impossible to prove a negative, and it cannot be shown that such an incident played no part in the development of tradition; but the facts of the case do not demand this view. Neither in Acts nor in the Gospel of Peter is there any feature which points to any conclusion, except that the story of the Ascension represents the belief of men, who, thinking of Heaven as a place, necessarily regarded the exaltation of Christ as an ascension. The fact is very important for the history of doctrine, or for the right conception of the point of view of the first Christians; but it has no other value for discussion of the historical evidence of the Resurrection.

Thus the result of an inquiry into the available evidence with a view to reconstructing the earliest tradition may be summed up as follows: the Lord was buried by Joseph of Arimathæa, who wished to fulfil the law of Deuteronomy, and probably was the representative of the Sanhedrim. The burial was watched, probably from a distance, by the little band of women who had remained to see the last moments of their Master. None of the other disciples were present, for they had scattered after the arrest of Jesus (St Peter a little later than the rest), and had either already

returned home, or were in hiding in Jerusalem until they could find an opportunity of escape.

Soon all the disciples found themselves once more in their old homes, and prepared to return to their old methods of life. But to their surprise the Lord > appeared, first to St Peter and afterwards to others—to those who lived in Judæa as well as to the Galileans—and under the influence of these appearances, of which the details have not been accurately preserved, they came to believe that the Lord was risen and exalted to Heaven, and that they were called to return to Jerusalem to take up their Master's work.

In Jerusalem they found the women who had watched the burial, and these told them that they had gone on the morning of the third day to supply the deficiencies of the burial given to the Lord by Joseph, but when they came to the grave, instead of finding it closed, they found it open, and a young man terrified them by telling them that Jesus whom they were seeking was not there. Thus to the already firm belief in the fact of the Resurrection—a belief which to that generation implied that the grave was empty—came to be added, on the strength of the women's report, that the Resurrection took place on the third day.

In the next chapter the question will be discussed of the value of this tradition for the establishment of the

facts. The following points will have to be dealt with:—(1) Does the experience of the women really justify the belief that the tomb was empty? (2) Does it justify the belief that the Resurrection took place on the third day? (3) How far does the fact of the appearances justify the belief in the Resurrection? ↵

CHAPTER VII

THE FACTS WHICH ARE BEHIND THE EARLIEST TRADITION

THE establishment of the earliest tradition is not quite the same thing as the establishment of the facts. It really only represents the judgment of the first witnesses. This judgment may be accepted or disputed. In some cases there is no reason for hesitating to accept it; and in any historical inquiry these cases are the majority. But in other cases it is necessary to consider how far the tradition from the beginning was influenced not only by what the eye-witnesses saw, but by their general belief, and by the explanations consciously and simultaneously added to their observations.

In the case of the narrative of the Resurrection, this is especially true of three points: (1) the belief that the tomb was empty; (2) the choice of the third day as that of the Resurrection; (3) the appearances of Christ as a basis of belief.

(1) *The empty tomb.*—That the tomb was empty was undoubtedly the general belief of the earliest Christians. The question is whether this belief was founded on an inference from the fact of the Resurrection or on independent evidence.

So far as the Galilean disciples were concerned, if the statements on pp. 24 ff. correctly represent the general Jewish belief, there is no question but that the fact of the Resurrection, of which the appearance of the risen Lord was the proof, must have been regarded as implying that the tomb was empty. Thus, at least until they met the women in Jerusalem, the emptiness of the tomb was an inference drawn from the fact of the Resurrection, by the help of the belief that the Resurrection of Christ had been accomplished by a transubstantiation of flesh into spirit, just as the general resurrection would ultimately be accomplished.

On the other hand, so far as the women who went to the tomb are concerned, the belief in the emptiness of the tomb seems to have preceded their belief in the Resurrection. It is, of course, not true to say that their belief in the Resurrection was founded on their belief in the empty tomb; neither the one nor the other was based on direct experience, but both were inferences drawn from the words of the young man whom they saw by the grave.

The question is whether we are prepared to accept or to reject these two inferences—one drawn from the belief in the fact of the Resurrection, the other from the message of the young man.

The former inference is exclusively doctrinal; it is the affirmation of the belief that the Resurrection implies the resurrection of the body in such a manner as to remove all traces of it from the tomb. This affirmation was undoubtedly made by most early Christians—almost certainly by St Paul—and remained the unquestioned view of believers in the Resurrection up to quite a recent time. The actual mental process which made this affirmation was no doubt often obscured by the coincident belief that the tomb had actually been found to be empty; but it surely is true that at most periods of Church history the dominant view was that the Resurrection implied the empty tomb, quite as much as that the empty tomb implied the Resurrection. It is only in the last few years that there has been a reasoned and serious disposition not merely to impugn the validity of this inference, but, by the use of an argument which can claim the authority of St Paul, to doubt its probability, and so to unite a belief in the Resurrection with a denial that the tomb was empty.

St Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians establishes

a parallelism¹ between the Resurrection of Christ and the Resurrection of Christians, and whatever views have been held on Christology, this parallelism has never been disputed. If Christ's Resurrection is described as the first-fruits of the dead, this idea must be implied. Obviously this can be used in two ways. We may fill in the lacunæ of our opinions as to life beyond death from the recorded facts of the history of Christ, so far as we believe that historical research can give us a trustworthy record; or we can use our opinions as to the resurrection of mankind in order to explain the narrative of the Resurrection of Christ. The latter is, of course, an entirely subjective method; but so long as it be not taken for anything else, it is perfectly legitimate.

To expect unanimity on such a point would be absurd, and, as a matter of fact, there seem to be two main lines on which thought has moved. Some generations have found it impossible to conceive of the existence of personal life apart from the body. This line of thought postulates the inseparability of life and our present body. This remains true whether it does or does not adopt the Jewish theory of a transubstantiation of matter into spirit, and is independent of the definition given to those words.

¹ Cf. E. A. Abbott's *The Kernel and the Husk*, Letter 23.

In some of his writings, St Paul seems to think along this line. A necessary corollary from it is that there is an indefinite period of waiting or suspension of life between the hour of death and resurrection; for resurrection on this hypothesis means the resuscitation or transubstantiation of the body in such a way that the tomb remains empty.

On the other hand, there are some places in St Paul's epistles which seem to point to the fact that he contemplated an immediate passage from death to life, or rather from one phase of life to another, separated from it only by the change of circumstance which we call death. Such a view, which excludes the idea of an empty tomb, has of recent years become more and more generally accepted, and the other view has correspondingly lost ground. We believe that life is continuous: we do not doubt that death is but a passage to a wider life, and we turn away from the suggestion that life is interrupted by a prolonged and indefinite period of waiting, or that the courts of the judgment of God admit of that delay which we regard as undesirable and unnecessary in a human tribunal. Furthermore, there are many of us who would not welcome the prospect of the resuscitation of that body of flesh and blood which is so often a hindrance, even though it be an education, on earth. Personally, I do not doubt

that this hypothesis is nearer the truth than any other; but it must be remembered that it is in no case likely that any statement of it is the whole truth, and that it remains merely an hypothesis until it can be shown that personal life does endure beyond death, is neither extinguished nor suspended, and is capable of manifesting its existence to us. To my own mind it seems possible that some evidence to this effect already exists, for phenomena have certainly been registered by observers of high scientific and moral position, which may point to the conclusion that men who were known to them personally, and died recently, are still capable of communicating with them. This matter is worthy of most serious attention, but we must wait until the experts have sufficiently sifted the arguments for alternative explanations of the phenomena, before they can actually be used as reliable evidence for the survival of personality after death.

On the choice between these two lines of thought—one rejecting, and the other demanding the resuscitation of the material body—depends the judgment which ought to be passed on the inference, that the tomb of Christ was empty, drawn from the fact of his Resurrection. If we take the latter line, we are bound to say that whether there be any evidence to

that effect or not, we must believe in the empty tomb as a necessary result of the Resurrection. If we take the other view, we must regard such an inference as unnecessary and probably wrong. Life, we say, is continuous. Our lost friends are living now, and we hope to pass through the same gate of death to join them in the same state of existence; but their graves are not empty, nor will ours become so. If, then, there be a parallelism, as St Paul thought, between Christ and Christians, there is no reason to suppose that it was otherwise with him. Thus, for us, the story of the empty tomb seems to be an improper inference from the fact of the Resurrection, and we are led on to ask whether it need be inferred from the experience of the women in the way in which they inferred it.

The investigation of pp. 182-201 had for its object the establishment of the earliest tradition as to the visit of the women to the tomb, and resulted in the conclusion that the Marcan account is trustworthy and primitive. It represents, however, not an account which the women delivered to the disciples before the latter returned from Galilee or had seen the risen Lord, but rather the report which they made to the disciples after their return, and in interpreting their experiences the women were probably quite as much influenced by the disciples' vision of the Lord, as the disciples

were by the story of the women. To the disciples the story of the women would seem merely to be the natural (but by no means necessary) confirmation of the inference, already drawn from their own experience, that the body of the Lord was no longer in the tomb. To the women, on the other hand, the story of the disciples must have been the actual proof of the Resurrection, and a corroboration of the inferences which they had already drawn. From their experience they had no doubt drawn the natural conclusion that the tomb was empty, though they did not, according to Mark, reach this result from any actual examination. Ultimately, too, they drew the inference that the emptiness of the tomb was due to the Resurrection, but at what moment they did this is precisely one of the points which cannot safely be settled. If we were certain that the words spoken by the young man were exactly reported by Mark, we might have reason for thinking that the women reached the belief in the Resurrection at once. But we are very far from certain. In the first place, as was said above (see p. 199), we cannot be sure that Mark, though an early and correct tradition, preserves the exact form in which the women reported their experience; and, secondly, the evidence of the women themselves is not of the kind which creates confidence in their

exact recollection of what they heard, or of their power to distinguish this recollection from their subsequently reached interpretation of it—a distinction which few witnesses can make. They were naturally in an overwrought state of mind, and on their own showing they fled when they heard the young man speak. It is much more probable that they did not really hear anything quite distinctly beyond the statement that the body which they sought was not in the tomb, and that they afterwards, in the light of the knowledge of the fact of the appearances of the Lord, came to think that this must have been a message referring to the Resurrection. That this is psychologically probable will be disputed by no one who has investigated the statement of contemporary witnesses. That it is historically possible is suggested by the way in which the various accounts in the gospels rewrite the Marcan version. If the first Christians were thus free with a written tradition, and replaced the text by their own explanations of it, is it probable that the oral tradition was more accurately preserved? Moreover, the suggestion in the First and Fourth Gospels that Mary Magdalene was convinced of the Resurrection by the appearance of the Lord, and not merely (in the Fourth Gospel not at all) by the message of the young man, though chiefly due to the influence

of conflation in tradition, may have been partly inspired by the knowledge that the women did not really understand at the moment what the young man meant, and only came to the conclusion that he was announcing the Resurrection after they had heard of the appearances.

If it be granted that the exact words of the young man in the Marcan narrative are merely an inference from the experience of the women, interpreted in the light of further knowledge and of doctrinal presupposition, it becomes a matter of importance to ask whether this inference was justifiable, or, in other words, whether the facts might have been otherwise interpreted.

It is desirable to reiterate that the inference was, and is, reasonable for those who hold that the Resurrection of Christians as well as of Christ must imply a resuscitation of the flesh and blood laid in the tomb. On this theory the tomb of Christ, if he rose, was certainly empty, and the inference of the women was perfectly natural. This view was all but universal in the early Church, and has, of course, still many adherents; but it cannot be said to be undisputed, and the question is, whether the experience of the women can be given any interpretation other than their own. There is little to gain by multiplying imaginary reconstructions which cannot be proved, but merely as an

indication that the interpretation of the women is not the only one possible, the following suggestions may be offered.

It is seriously a matter for doubt whether the women were really in a position to be quite certain that the tomb which they visited was that in which they had seen Joseph of Arimathæa bury the Lord's body. The neighbourhood of Jerusalem is full of rock-tombs, and it would not be easy to distinguish one from another without careful notes. So far as their frame of mind at the time of the burial was concerned, the women were certainly not fit to take such notes. They had spent the day in watching the dying agony of their Master, and it is not in human nature at such a time calmly to consider a question of locality. Moreover, it is very doubtful if they were close to the tomb at the moment of burial. As was shown in chapters ii. and vi., it is likely that they were watching from a distance, and that Joseph of Arimathæa was a representative of the Jews rather than of the disciples. If so, they would have had but a limited power to distinguish between one rock-tomb and another close to it. The possibility, therefore, that they came to the wrong tomb is to be reckoned with, and it is important because it supplies the natural explanation of the fact that whereas they had seen the tomb closed, they found it open. If there

were any reason to think that the opening of the tomb was a necessary preliminary to the Resurrection,¹ this might seem on doctrinal grounds sufficiently explicable ; but even in the most anti-Docetic narratives the risen Lord can appear at will in a room with closed doors, so that unless the Resurrection was material to an extent never yet suggested, the open door of the tomb was purely evidential. Yet it does not appear to have been treated as evidence by the early Christians. According to St Paul, faith in the Resurrection was based on the evidence that the Lord had been seen, not that the tomb was open. On the usual view, the open door of the tomb is a miracle which was unnecessary to permit of the Resurrection, and was not used to produce faith. It is thus merely a portent, and the doubt is worth considering whether the tomb which the women found open was the same as Joseph of Arimathæa had closed.

If it were not the same, the circumstances all seem to fall into line. The women came in the early morning to a tomb which they thought was the one in which they had seen the Lord buried. They expected to find a closed tomb, but they found an open one ; and a young

¹ There is an interesting treatment of this point in Bishop Horsley's *Nine Sermons on the Nature of the Evidence by which the Fact of our Lord's Resurrection is Established*, published in 1815. See esp. p. 202, in which the Bishop maintains that the stone was only rolled away "not to let the Lord out, but to let the women in."

man, who was in the entrance, guessing their errand, tried to tell them that they had made a mistake in the place. "He is not here," said he; "see the place where they laid him," and probably pointed to the next tomb. But the women were frightened at the detection of their errand and fled, only imperfectly or not at all understanding what they heard. It was only later on, when they knew that the Lord was risen, and—on their view—that his tomb must be empty, that they came to believe that the young man was something more than they had seen; that he was not telling them of their mistake, but announcing the Resurrection, and that his intention was to give them a message for the disciples.

These remarks are not to be taken as anything more than a suggestion of what might possibly have happened. All that is said is that if the facts had been of this kind, persons who had the opinions and the experience of the women and of the evangelists would have produced such a narrative as we possess, and would naturally and inevitably have connected the experience of the women, the open tomb, and the Resurrection in the manner which we find in Mark, because they believed that the Resurrection must imply an empty tomb. Those who still believe in this necessity are justified in making the same inference, but those of us who believe that the Resurrection need

not imply an empty tomb are justified in saying that the narrative might have been produced by causes in accordance with our belief, and that the inference of the women is one which is not binding on us. The empty tomb is for us doctrinally indefensible and is historically insufficiently accredited.

Thus the story of the empty tomb must be fought out on doctrinal, not on historical or critical grounds. The historical evidence is such that it can be fairly interpreted consistently with either of the two doctrinal positions—that the Resurrection implies or does not imply a resuscitation of the flesh—but it does not decisively support either. I have indicated which position seems to me preferable, and it would be beyond my scope to endeavour to discuss the matter more fully; but I would reiterate that the crucial point is the definition which we give to the Resurrection. If we hope for this in our case, in such a way as to resuscitate the human flesh which will be laid in the ground, we must postulate the same for the “first-born from the dead.” If we do not believe, and would not desire this for ourselves, it is illogical that we should believe that it was so for him.

(2) *The choice of the third day.*—There is no doubt that from the beginning the Resurrection was believed to have taken place on the third day. It is almost

equally certain that, at least by the time the gospels were written, the experience of the women who went to the grave was regarded as pointing to this date, and that the evidence of the Old Testament was invoked to justify or to confirm this view. It is not so certain how far the same is true of quite the earliest period, but the discussion of St Paul's evidence in chapters i. and vi. led to the conclusion that it is improbable that the use of Old Testament prophecy by itself led to the choice of the third day, and it was also seen that in 1 Cor. xv. St Paul is quoting a formula which was in use in the community of Jerusalem. Thus it is so probable as almost to be certain that the choice of the third day was bound up in the early Church from the very beginning with the experience of the women. But at this point a difficulty arises. Granting that the choice of the day was connected with the experience of the women, it remains true that there was no reason to fix on the third day rather than the second. The first day, it may be conceded, was excluded by the fact that the burial took place just before sunset, when the day was on the point of closing; but this would only show that the Resurrection took place between the sunset of Friday and the sunrise of Sunday, and the disciples seem to have been confident that it took place between the latter time and the sunset of Saturday, and thus,

according to their method of reckoning, on the third day.

Thus it would seem that the third day was an imperfect inference from the narrative of the women, and we have to ask what were the contributory reasons for this inference, and how far it is valid for us.

There is no reason to suppose that there was only one influence at work to induce the disciples to interpret the experience of the women in the way in which they did. Probably there were several. One of them would of course be the prophecies of the Old Testament, and we know from St Paul that this was an important influence. But the discussion on pp. 28 ff. has shown that the Old Testament really supplies very little which can be taken as a prophecy that the third day should be that of the Resurrection. It is thus all the more desirable to consider other possibilities. Two especially are important.

(a) *Prophecy of the Lord himself.*—In the gospels there are several passages in which the Lord appears clearly to foretell his death in Jerusalem and his Resurrection on the third day. The gospels, however, represent not merely the sayings of the Lord, but the views of the early Christians with regard to them. Therefore, when it is necessary to distinguish between what was actually said, and the interpretation given to

it by the writers of the gospels, it is impossible to proceed without taking into consideration the development of belief. Now it is certain that from a period antecedent to the writing of the gospels there were two main beliefs connected with the Lord and his prophecy of triumph over death. On the one hand, men believed that he had foretold the Resurrection; on the other hand, that he had foretold a second coming. The former prophecy had been fulfilled; the second would be within a short time. In the gospels these two prophecies are quite sharply defined; but there is also evidence that this sharp definition is due to the explanations of the Church, and not to the original words.

In the first place, it seems clear that the behaviour of the disciples after the betrayal and crucifixion of the Lord excludes the view that he had ever definitely foretold his Resurrection in words which they could not fail to understand. This point is obscured in the later narratives, but is plain in Mark. In the second place, even in the passages which seem to show that he did utter unmistakable prophecies, there is generally a hint that as a matter of fact such was not the case. For instance, in Mark viii. 31 we have an apparently clear reference to the Resurrection; but in the context (Mark ix. 10) it is stated that the disciples did

not understand it, and the same thing is true of Mark ix. 32 f.

Similarly, turning to the passages referring to the Parousia, in Mark ix. 1, the second coming is defined as taking place before the death of the bystanders. The same thing is stated in Mark xiii. 30, and is probably implied in Mark xiv. 62. In fact, a belief in an immediate second coming is characteristic of Mark, though the detailed criticism and exegesis of the little apocalypse in chapter xiii. is very uncertain. Later on, when the expectation of an immediate Parousia proved misplaced, there was, as may be seen in Luke, a tendency to rewrite these sayings, to connect some of them with the fall of Jerusalem, and to expand the time limit in others. It has furthermore been suggested by some writers that the phrases "on the third day" or "after three days"—in practice synonymous expressions—were used as the equivalent of "shortly" or "after a short time." The suggestion therefore is that the Lord spoke to the disciples of his approaching death and ultimate victory, and in connexion with the latter used the expression "after three days" or "on the third day." By this he meant no more than a customary use of the expression for "shortly," and the nature of his ultimate victory he may either have left indefinite, or have clothed in the forms of

contemporary eschatological thought. The disciples, after the death and resurrection of their Master, interpreted these sayings in two ways. Some they regarded as prophecies of the Resurrection, and in this connexion they interpreted the expression "on the third day" in a literal manner foreign to its original meaning. But the Resurrection did not seem completely to satisfy their expectation, and thus they regarded other sayings as prophecies of the second coming. Later on, when the lapse of years had falsified the notes of time pointing to a fulfilment of this hope before the passing away of all the first generation, a further division into two was adopted, and some sayings—those with notes of time—were connected with the fall of Jerusalem, and others with the second coming.

Some such theory as this has no doubt some plausibility and is partly true, but its importance for the present purpose is greatly impaired by the fact that there is no adequate evidence that three days was used in the way suggested as a vivid expression for a short time. Therefore, while admitting the general correctness of the view that the gospels represent the interpretation of the early Church rather than the exact form of the original, it is quite uncertain whether the reference to the third day is to be regarded as the cause or as the effect of the belief in

the Resurrection on that particular day. It is perhaps more probable that it was the belief of the disciples which produced the exact form of the prophecies in the gospel.

The conclusion from these arguments seems to be that Jesus spoke to his disciples about his approaching death and ultimate victory in terms which they did not understand. In the light of subsequent events, some of his sayings were interpreted as prophecies of the Resurrection, and into these a reference was inserted to that third day which was believed to have been that of the Resurrection. In the same way other prophecies were taken to refer to the second coming, and later on a further distinction was made, according to which some referred to the fall of Jerusalem and others to the Parousia. The fact that we have all classes of sayings side by side in the gospels is another example of "conflation in tradition." This theory has not a little in its favour, but it will be seen that, so far as the present problem is concerned, it leaves us as far as ever from explaining the reason of the original belief in the third day as that of the Resurrection.

(b) *Contemporary Messianic belief among the people.*—A very important suggestion is that the "third day" is a trace of the influence of contemporary belief. For this little direct evidence can be given; but the theory

which emphasises its importance is much as follows. We have in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings a fair representation of the belief of educated Jewish theologians, written sometime later, but probably not differing greatly from the form in which it existed in the time of Christ. The apocalyptic literature gives in the same way the eschatological expectations of certain theologians. But neither of these, though no doubt exercising influence on the people, can be regarded as an exact presentment of the popular theology of the time. Yet every analogy supports the view that such a theology existed. The uneducated mass of the people has always a theology which differs from that either of the educated laity or of the priests, or of the theologians. This theology can be sought for in two directions. In the first place, the early Christians probably took over a great part of the contemporary Jewish theology, so that the New Testament is a more valuable repository of information as to what the people believed than the Rabbinical literature is. In the second place, it is suggested that the popular theology contained a large proportion of the ideas found in other religions, especially in the Babylonian, Persian, and Egyptian. Critics have of recent years been very active in working out this view, and they and their adversaries are still at cross purposes

with each other. The latter say that there is no evidence that the various Babylonian, etc., ideas obtained among the Jews, and that it is unscientifically rash to quote documents of every century to illustrate and explain the New Testament as though time and space did not exist. The former say that this objection is more specious than important, for *ex hypothesi* they are dealing with the unwritten popular theology which changed so slowly that, if one prove that a doctrine was taught in one generation, it is safe to assume that it lingered on for centuries among the people. Moreover, it is urged that the ideas in question can be traced through many centuries, only slightly changing, and applied first to one god and then to another. Thus, for instance, it is said that Marduk,¹ the son of the Babylonian god Ea, was represented as the god through whom the world was made, who is called "Lord of Lords and King of Kings," who came down to save men, died, and returned to heaven to be the great intercessor for men in the heavens. In the same way the celebration of the death and resurrection of the god on the third day played a part in the theology connected with Attis, Adonis, Osiris and probably other deities. Now these theologies were certainly not without influence on Hebrew religion: probably the

¹ Cf. *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed.

attributes of Marduk were at first taken over by the Hebrew Jahveh, later on were divided between Michael the archangel and the Messiah. In connexion with the latter, it is urged, the people very probably interpreted various parts of the Old Testament which the Christians from the beginning connected with Christ, but the Rabbis never explained in relation to the Messianic expectation. This view, for instance, has been adopted by Professor Gunkel with regard to the figure of the Servant of Jahveh in the second part of Isaiah. Moreover, it is denied by this school of thought that the famous passage in 4 Esdras vii. 28 ff., foretelling the death of the Messiah, is, as has often been assumed, a Christian interpolation; it is a genuine fragment of the Popular as distinguished from the Rabbinical Messianic expectation.

The difficulty is to decide how far this theory is based on fact, and how far it is merely guess work. Few of us have any real knowledge of the subject, but the statements of some students of Babylonian religion seem to be based on slight evidence, and the justice of their exegesis of the Bible is far from certain. Still, there is no doubt that some of the men who hold these views are just the men whose knowledge and research give their opinion, so far as Babylonian religion is concerned, quite a special value; whereas those who are most noisy

in rebuking them have frequently but little knowledge, and have done no work on the subject.

Thus one has seriously to reckon with the possibility that in the popular religion of the Jews in the time of Christ there was an expectation of a suffering Messiah moulded ultimately on primitive ideas of the god who dies and rises after three days—perhaps going back to a personification of the moon, which is invisible for three days when it is new. The evidence is not sufficient at present to prove that this is so, but it would be unwise to leave such arguments out of account.

The importance of this position is easily seen. The early Christians had to give an explanation of the personality of Jesus and of his history, and just as the evangelists were obliged to write in the current language, so they were obliged to think the current thoughts of their day. They could not but explain the figure of Jesus in the terms of the Messianic thought which they had inherited. The question may even be raised whether Jesus himself was not under the same necessity. Some critics are inclined—in my opinion—to go to a quite unnecessary length in their use of this fact, and one of the objects of this book is to argue that there is a solid basis of history, in the Marcan narrative of the experience of the women, and in the Pauline account of the appearances of Christ, which cannot be explained as

efforts of the imagination to give a concrete form to current Messianic views. It is history, not theology or mythology. At the same time, if the results already reached have any value, it is clear that the development and explanation of the narrative of these historical facts proceeded rapidly along the lines of contemporary thought. One of the first points with which this development was concerned was the choice of the third day, and if it were certain that the popular theology contained a belief in a Messiah who would die and rise on the third day, it would be natural to see in this a contributory reason for the choice of the third day as that of the Resurrection.

As was said at the beginning of this discussion, none of these explanations seem quite satisfactory. But the fact remains that from the beginning the third day was regarded as that of the Resurrection—on theological rather than historical grounds—and the question arises whether this primitive belief has still a commanding claim on our assent.

The answer to this question depends really on that given to the problem of the empty tomb. If we take the Jewish view that resurrection implies resuscitation of the body, the fact of the burial of the Lord proves at least there was an interval between his death and Resurrection; and so far, at least, the belief in the

third day is not excluded. If, on the other hand, we reject this view, we really reject with it not merely the doctrinal justification for the belief in the empty tomb, but also for an interval between death and resurrection. What we mean by resurrection is not resuscitation of the material body, but the unbroken survival of personal life; and the uninterrupted continuance of life excludes an interval of even three days, just as certainly as the resuscitation of the body demands it.

(3) *What is the meaning of the appearances of Christ?*—The last chapter showed that there is convincing evidence that the disciples believed that the Lord had appeared to St Peter and to others in the form of a spiritual being. Later on this spiritual being became in the Lucan and Johannine anti-Docetic narratives a being of flesh and blood—a resuscitated corpse, not a spirit,—and the impression made on the disciples by the appearances was translated into the form of conversations between the Lord and his disciples. The Pauline form represents the earliest tradition, and it is that alone with which we have to deal.

The matter is difficult, but at the same time all that can be said requires little space. It is quite plain that the disciples were all firmly convinced that the Lord had appeared to them, and no one more firmly than St Paul; nor is there any reason to suppose that his experi-

ence was essentially different from that of the other disciples. It is impossible to discover, and it is not very important to ask, precisely what kind of evidence it was which convinced them of this point. In any case it was the evidence of their senses, and whether it was sight or hearing or even touch is really of secondary importance. What matters is that the evidence of St Paul is explicit on the two points (*a*) that the appearance left no room for doubt in his mind, (*b*) that it was that of a spiritual being.

This view is, it need hardly be said, generally accepted by most critical students of the New Testament, but there have always been differences of opinion as to whether the appearances ought to be described as subjective or objective. The former view is that the appearances depended entirely on the spiritual experience of the disciples, who visualised, as it were, their conviction that their Master's life could not be extinguished by death. In support of this view may be urged that, quite apart from the probability that Jesus himself had given teaching to this effect, the Jewish belief that death, which was the unnatural end of life only due to Adam's sin, had not been allowed to triumph in the cases of Enoch, of Elijah, and, at least in some sense, of Moses, supplies a reason for the disciples' belief, which may have been emphasised by contemporary Messianic

doctrine. The difficulty of this view is that it seems to fall to pieces against the experience of St Paul. He, until his conversion, had entirely rejected any suggestion that Jesus was either the Messiah, or in any way to be ranked with Enoch, Elijah, or Moses. Thus, to explain St Paul's experience in this way demands the reconstruction of an elaborate psychological process¹ occasioned in his mind by the words of St Stephen, which convinced him, without his knowing, that Jesus was the Messiah, and thus produced the vision on the road to Damascus. The extremely cumbrous and improbable nature of this suggestion is a serious objection to the purely subjective hypothesis.

The objective hypothesis is that the appearance was independent of the belief or feelings of the disciples. In other words, the disciples saw what they saw because there really was a spiritual being which had an existence independent of them and produced the appearance. This view explains all the facts and agrees with the undoubted belief of the disciples. It is, however, adversely criticised in two directions.

In the first place, there are those who think that such a phenomenon is in itself so improbable that any alternative is preferable to its assertion.

¹ For the possibility of this "subconscious incubation" see W. James, *Some Varieties of Religious Experience*.

This objection is almost outside the scope of the present book, for it is philosophical and not historical; yet it is obviously unsatisfactory not to discuss it to some extent. It is based on the feeling that modern science and modern philosophy speak with a constantly increasing firmness against the probability of the suspension of "natural law." Those who take this view do not necessarily reject the belief in the survival of life after death. For instance, some of them would admit that it is conceivable that life is eternal and bounded neither by space nor time, so that death ought to be regarded as the release of an eternal personality from the limitations of existence in time; but it would be said that, granted this is so, it remains true that death is the end of existence in time, and it would be a violation of all that we know of the laws of life to suppose that the personality which has passed outside these present limitations is able at will to return and hold communion with those who are still within them. Now it is certainly difficult to argue, as older apologists did, in support of the theory that we have any right to talk of "suspension of natural law" witnessed to by historical evidence. As Dr Rashdall¹ has said, ". . . It seems to me clear that completely isolated exceptions to the laws of nature could not be adequately established

¹ In an unpublished treatise which I have his permission to quote.

by the kind of historical evidence to which the believers in such suspensions appeal, even if that evidence were far stronger than it is." But, as Dr Rashdall goes on to point out, this argument does not apply to the question at issue. It would, and does apply to the theory of the resuscitation or transubstantiation of a material body, but it has no bearing on the question of the survival of personality after death, and the possibility of its making its presence known to others. "The disappearance or absolute annihilation," says he, "the reanimation, or the sudden transformation into something not quite material and yet not quite spiritual, of a really dead body, would involve the violation of the best ascertained laws of physics, chemistry, and physiology. Were the testimony fifty times stronger than it is, any hypothesis would be more possible than that. But in the present state of our knowledge of the kind of causality which is discovered in the relation between mind and mind, or between mind and body, there is nothing to be said against the possibility of an appearance of Christ to his disciples, which was a real though supernormal psychological event, but which involved nothing which can properly be spoken of as a suspension of natural law." To which it may be added that it is by no means so certain as those who advance this objection maintain that even our present life is always and absolutely

circumscribed by space and time. On one side of our nature it is ; but is there not also a side which is already at times in conscious communion with something which transcends those limits ?

There is, however, a point of somewhat allied nature which demands attention. It may be said that "seeing" and "hearing" are actions of the material senses which imply the existence of correspondingly material objects to arouse them. If one has sense-perception which is not aroused by a physical object, is it not merely subjective hallucination ?

This argument contains an element of truth which it is very undesirable to overlook. It is certainly true that our senses so habitually react to physical and material forces that their reaction inevitably connotes something physical and material. If we speak or think of a spiritual, non-material being, the nearest approach our minds can make to forming an image of what is meant is really only a very highly attenuated form of physical existence, though not so highly attenuated as some forms of matter really are, for matter appears to exist in invisible forms, and many of us (the present writer at all events) cannot really think of anything without simultaneously and automatically translating it into terms of sight. We may allow for this fact and recognise that this material presentment is due to

ourselves and is really contradictory to the nature of that spiritual being we were considering—it is subjective, not objective—but we are no more able to think in any other way than we are able to speak without words.

Yet however much weight be attached to this argument, it does not justify the statement that the appearance of Jesus to the disciples was subjective hallucination. Hallucination is certainly an unjustifiable word if it would imply that the disciples were pathologically influenced by some defect in their senses, for the most that is to be said is that their conception of the form of the appearance of Jesus was conditioned by the limitations imposed on all healthy minds. Nor is it even correct to say without qualification that it was subjective. It is justifiable to say that the form in which the spiritual being presented itself was due not to its own nature but to that of the disciples, but this is a very different thing from saying that the being itself had no objective existence. The form in which an object appears is in any case the resultant of the natures of the object and of the percipient. Assume the possibility of an absolutely non-material object communicating its presence to a man, and the impression made on the latter must be an appearance conditioned by the terms of his own human nature and

so far subjective. In this sense it is a truism to say that the appearance of Christ after the Resurrection was subjective, and the desire to do justice to this fact, combined with a necessity of asserting that the perception (in itself and apart from the form which the perception took) of the appearance was due to an objective presence, has led some theologians to coin the cumbersome expression subjective-objective appearance.

It may be thought that this is merely a philosophical subtlety, but it is something more than this. It means that, if we once decide, whether on historical or doctrinal grounds, that the risen Christ was spiritual, not material, we must be consistent, and recognise that when we speak of the disciples *seeing* or *hearing* the risen Christ we are using, as they did, the language of our ordinary perception of the material to express the immaterial.

Another line of thought is more difficult to express, because, although it is no doubt widely followed, it is not very often put into words. It is concerned with the appearances of Jesus in their relation to the type of phenomena collected by the Society of Psychical Research, and especially by the late Mr F. W. H. Myers.¹ These phenomena are supposed by some to point to

¹ See his *Survival of Human Personality after Death*.

our possession of direct evidence for the survival of human personality after death, and its power under certain circumstances of communicating with us. Certainly it must be admitted that the facts collected are explicable on that basis, especially if we make allowance for the factor discussed in the previous paragraph, and consider the phenomena as "subjective-objective."

On the other hand, students of these phenomena are generally ready to admit that another explanation is possible, even if less probable. The fact of thought transference and telepathy is now well established; it is also probable that the theory of the so-called "subliminal consciousness" expresses a real fact, namely that our minds often work without our conscious knowledge, and that the results of this unconscious working sometimes rise, as it were, suddenly above the threshold of consciousness, so that we are startled to find ourselves in the presence of an unexpected guest. At this moment no one would claim to have any precise knowledge of the limits of possibility as applied either to thought-transference or to the subliminal consciousness. Now it is suggested that the phenomena on which Mr Myers laid so much stress may be explained as merely the result of thought-transference and the operation of a subliminal consciousness. For instance, if there was the case of a

man who before his death left a document in a hidden place, and after his death appeared and revealed both the place and the contents of the letter, it would be possible to say that the knowledge had really been transferred before his death, unconsciously, to the subliminal conscience of some acquaintance. Then, after his death, something happened to bring this subliminal consciousness to the surface, and so the knowledge previously transferred was found, and by the natural processes of thought either "visualised" into an "appearance," or "auralised" into a "message."

The strong point of this theory is that so many appearances of or messages from the dead are perceived when the normal position of the subliminal consciousness has been disturbed artificially by hypnotism, or naturally by shock or strain. The weak point is that it is so extraordinarily complicated that it seems easier to believe that the appearances really are those of surviving personality.

Obviously this question is not without its importance for the question of the Resurrection. It is different if it be held that the Resurrection of Christ was the resuscitation of a material body; and those who still hold that view are justified in saying that the question is for them entirely outside their necessities. But for those of us who regard the Resurrection of Christ not

as the resurrection of a material body, but as the manifestation of a surviving personality, the question is exceedingly important.

It means that we have to consider the possibility that the phenomenon which we call the Resurrection of Christ cannot be isolated, but must be considered in connexion with others which belong to the same class. Critical methods dealing simply with the historical evidence show more and more clearly that the view is untenable, except on doctrinal grounds, that there was any resurrection of the body of Jesus. A consideration of the doctrinal grounds does not convince us that there is reason for altering this verdict. At the same time, critical methods point just as clearly to the existence of a conviction among the disciples that the Lord had appeared to them, and neither criticism nor philosophy can give any explanation of this fact without admitting that these appearances were dependent on the personality of Jesus. Criticism and philosophy give adequate reason for explaining as unhistorical or as subjective the form in which these appearances were related in tradition, but they do not at all impugn the fact of appearances. And at this point the psychologist comes into the discussion, and says that such appearances are not isolated phenomena; but he is not yet quite ready to say what explanation he wishes to give of them:

perhaps they are proofs that personality survives death in a form which does not exclude the possibility of communications; perhaps they are proofs of as yet unfathomed possibilities of the influence of living personality and of unconscious thought which suddenly reaches the plane of consciousness, and manifests itself there in the form of "appearances" or "messages."

So we seem to see the possibility that the discussion of the Resurrection will in the future enter on a new phase; but it is impossible here to attempt to foretell what this new period may bring. The present essay must be regarded rather as an attempt to say what are the actual facts which literary and historical criticism can disentangle from the already developed tradition which is found in the New Testament. It is the task of the student of doctrine to consider the importance of these results and to give them their place in a system of theology, and of the psychologist to correlate them with the other facts which seem to belong to the same class.

Here I might well end, for on the subject of historical evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ I have no more to say; but at the cost of going outside my subject, I wish to add one more paragraph in reference to a criticism which cannot fail to be made.

It will be said that these results, though moderately

conservative in the region of literary criticism, are nevertheless an entire abandonment of the central doctrine of Christianity—the unique and miraculous character of the Resurrection. From one point of view this criticism is natural, for if these results be right, the Resurrection ought not to be regarded as unique, or as miraculous, if the miraculous be taken to mean a suspension of the laws of the working of God in the world. Moreover, it is certainly true that the doctrine of the Resurrection which played so large a part in the spread of Christianity *was* bound up with that belief in a resurrection of the flesh which has been rejected in this book as indefensible by any historical arguments. So much must be admitted; but against this admission I would place the following considerations. In the first place, the fact that the belief in the Resurrection has hitherto been bound up with certain other views is not decisive proof that it ought not to be separated from them, any more than the fact that the gospel was originally preached in Greek is a proof that that language ought still to be employed by missionaries. Secondly, what is really central is that to the early Christians the Resurrection had a personal value, because they believed that in the end it was not unique, but was the triumph of life over death in which they all joined. That remains true—perhaps even more true

—if the results of the present study be accepted, and is independent of the Jewish or Greek forms of thought in which it was once clothed. Finally, I would protest that it is courting intellectual disaster for us Christians to base the claims of our religion to attention from this generation, which is hesitating whether it will hear or whether it will forbear, on any purely theological argument or on the accuracy of the narratives of any event in the past. Those who teach theology know best how little effect theology,¹ and how great effect religion, has on the modern man. The argument which alone is convincing is the witness of the Spirit given to men as the proof that on one side of their nature they are the “sons of God.” It is the task of theologians to analyse that witness, to give it intelligible formulation, and to trace its testimony from century to century. But the Church will not long survive if the day ever come when she rests her case on either the theological formulation or the witness of other days, and not on testimony which may be heard in the present. There is no more important

¹ Religion seems to me to be intuitive. It is the conscious communion of man with a higher spiritual being. Theology is partly a theory to account for religion, partly a series of inductions based on religion as to the higher spiritual being. The Church has too often forgotten that the basis of her corporate life ought to be a common religion, not necessarily a common theology.

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lesson for the theologian than that which his own critical art teaches him, that the Sign of the prophet Jonah to which our Lord appealed was not "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," but the ever-present testimony of the Spirit, which has spoken to men in every age through their own conscience, through saints and preachers, through "Moses and the prophets." If men will not listen to that, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A (see p. 185).

THE belief was widespread among the Jews that at the time of death angels were present to help the departing spirit. This belief is represented in the New Testament in Luke xvi. 22: "And it came to pass that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom." It is also found in the late Jewish theology, e.g. in the Targum on Cant. iv. 12 (Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebr.*, i. 301) it is said: "Only the Just can enter Paradise, and their souls are brought there by the angels." So also we are told in the *Cabb. denud.* of von Rosenroth, *Idra Rabba*, §§ 1137 f.: ". . . Rabbi Jose and R. Chiskija and R. Jesa died, and their companions saw that the holy angels carried them away"; and according to Schöttgen, *Horæ*, ii. 657, R. Isaac said, "When a soul is worthy to be brought through the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, Michael the great prince accompanies it and commends it to peace with the ministering angels." In the same way, in the Apocalyptic Book of Adam, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael take the body of Adam. (The Book of Adam is no longer extant, but it is imbedded in the Apocalypse of Moses, ed. Tischendorf; cf. also the *Vita Adæ et Evæ* in

the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Munich, philological and historical division, new series, for the year 1878, and the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, philosophical and historical division, for 1893. The date of this book is naturally uncertain; it seems probable that it is earlier than the Epistle of Barnabas, cf. *Apocrypha Anecdota, Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 145; but the strongly Messianic doctrine which it contains may be Christian: this, however, is immaterial for the present purpose, as the imagery is surely taken from Jewish sources.) Again, just as the Book of Adam bears witness to a tendency to put four archangels in the place of Michael, the Tractate Ketuboth, 104a, in the Talmud shows a still further multiplication: "R. Eleazar said, In the hour when a just man leaves the world three troops of ministering angels meet him."

These quotations, for which I am indebted to W. Lueken's *Michael* (see esp. pp. 43-52), might probably easily be added to; but they are sufficient to show that there is no doubt but that the ideas of death, resurrection, and angels are closely connected with each other, and that therefore it was quite natural in the time of Christ for Jews to think that the young man whom the women saw by the tomb was an angel, later on to develop a tradition which spoke of two angels, and still later to identify these two angels as Michael and Gabriel, as was done in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. One might even have guessed that in some circles the angels would be indefinitely multiplied. This seems actually to have been the case, though the evidence is found only in the conflate form, for in the old African text (*k*) of Mc. xiv. 4, there is the curious interpolation, *subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebræ diei factæ sunt per totum orbem terræ et descenderunt de cælis*

angeli et surgent (? es) in claritate vivi dei simul ascenderunt cum eo et continuo lux facta est.

It should be added that the Rabbinical books quoted are of course much later than the Christian era, but it is probable that the Jewish theology did not change so much as to render them useless for the present purpose, and in any case the evidence of Luke and the book of Adam is quite early.

APPENDIX B (see p. 148).

THERE are several other accounts of the resurrection to which attention may be directed, though none of them have any claim to be regarded as historical evidence.

1. In the Syriac *Didascalia* use seems to have been made of an apocryphal gospel. The references to this source may be found conveniently collected in Preuschen's invaluable little book *Antilegomena* (published by A. Töpelmann, Gieszen, 2nd ed., 1905), p. 81. See also A. Meyer's *Die Auferstehung Christi*, pp. 76 f.

2. In a Coptic fragment published by C. Schmidt in the *Sitzungsberichten der königl. preussischen Akademie* for 1895, pp. 705-711, there is an account of the resurrection. See *Antilegomena*, pp. 83 f., and A. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

3. The *Anaphora Pilati* purports to be a report of Pontius Pilate; see Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 435-449. The book is also the best available text of the *Acta Pilati* mentioned on p. 229.

4. The *Acta Johannis* is a purely Docetic, but quite late account of the resurrection. See M. Bonnet's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ii. 1, pp. xxvi.-xxxiii., and pp. 151 ff.,

and M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. ; *Texts and Studies*, v. 1, pp. ix.-xxviii., and pp. 1 ff.

5. The *Pistis Sophia* and the *Book of Jeu*, though they contain no narrative of the resurrection, are remarkable examples of the belief held by some Gnostic sects that the risen Lord remained among his disciples for several years and communicated various mysteries to them. See C. Schmidt's *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften* in the edition of *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* of the Prussian Academy. The preface to this book gives an adequate account of recent books on the subject.

APPENDIX C

Books on the Resurrection

It is of course impossible to attempt a complete bibliography of all that has been written on the Resurrection of Christ. The writings of the Church Fathers are in themselves a proper subject for a separate book, and cannot here be dealt with. Nor is it desirable to give the titles of more recent works which are nevertheless out of date, or of purely ephemeral pamphlets. The following list is merely a selection of some of the more noteworthy and more recent publications.

Those who desire fuller information as to the last twenty-five years will find it in the back numbers of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*; there is also a bibliography of English books by Dr J. Moffat at the end of the article on the "Resurrection- and Ascension- narratives" in the

Encyclopædia Biblica, and in A. Meyer's *Die Auferstehung Christi* there is an excellent statement of the character of the chief German work during the last century.

T. Goulburn, *The Resurrection of the Body* (Bampton Lectures), 1850.

H. Gebhardt, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 1864.

R. W. Macan, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, 1877.

B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, 1879; *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*.

W. Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*, 1881.

E. G. Steude, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 1888.

W. Milligan, *The Ascension of our Lord*.

F. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte*, 1898.

P. Rohrbach, *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1898.

W. Bruckner, *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung*, in the *Prot. Monats.*, 1899.

W. Sanday, *Jesus Christ*, in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1899.

H. Latham, *The Risen Master*, 1901.

E. R. Bernard, *Resurrection*, in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1903.

P. W. Schmiedel, *Resurrection- and Ascension- narratives*, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1903.

E. von Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1903; *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters*, 1904.

W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *Our Lord's Resurrection*, 1905.

E. Riggenbach, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1905.

A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 1905.

L. Ihmels, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 1906.

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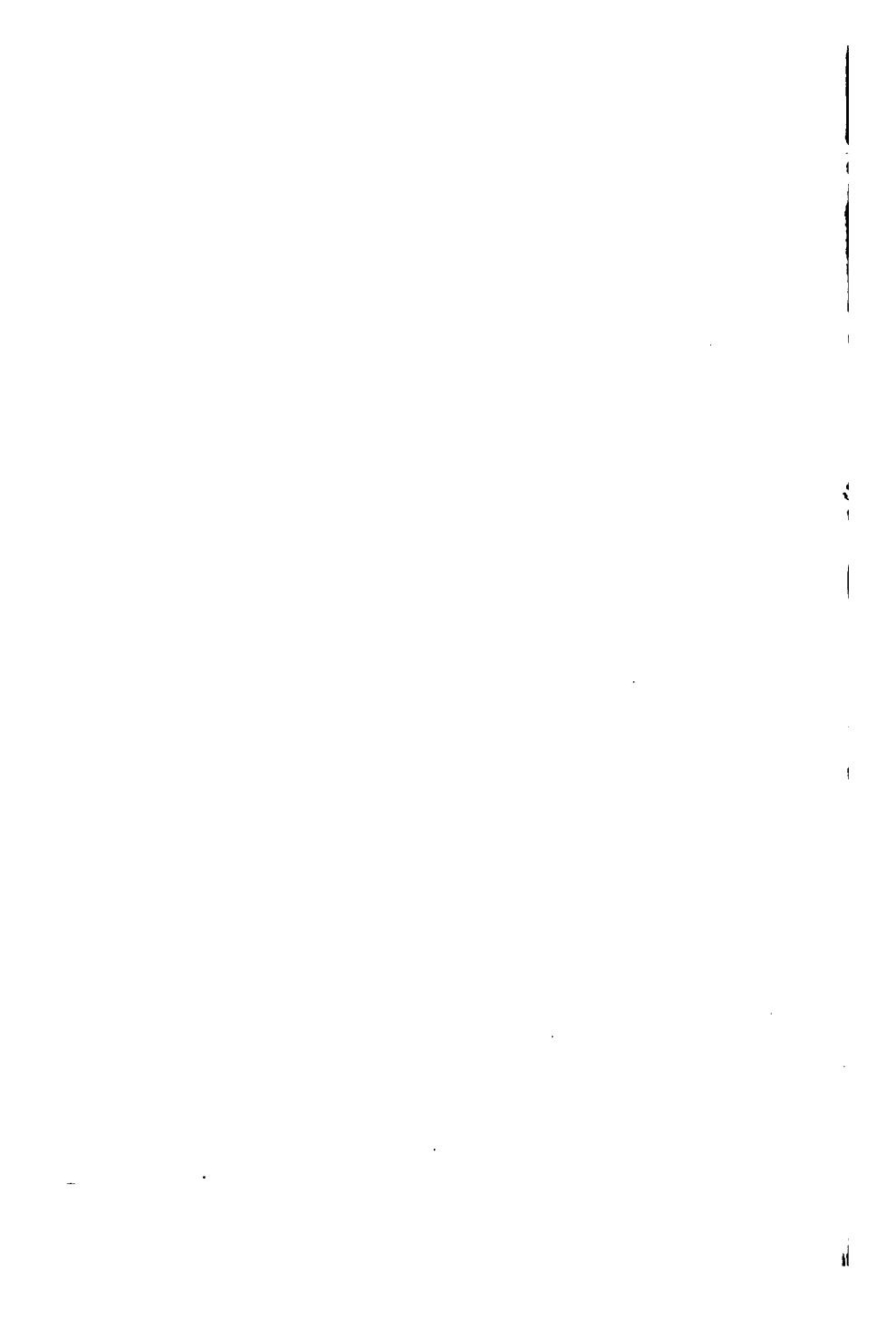
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